

# The Nation.

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## The Week.

THE Senate has been constantly at work during the week, but has done nothing of importance except to confirm and reject nominations. It has not done very much rejecting, but rather more of what it has done is highly discreditable to it than creditable. It is a good thing that Mr. Stephens—the son of Mrs. Ann S. Stephens the novelist, who can do a little lobbying on occasion—was refused the consulship at Leith, where we already have in Mr. Fiske a worthy representative, in whose interest we hope it was that the rejection of Mr. Stephens took place. But there seems to be nothing to rejoice at in the rejection of a certain nominee for a postmastership in Kansas because he was "personally obnoxious" to Mr. Ross, and because Mr. Ross's fellow-senators recognize his right to half the patronage in his State. In fact, it is simply disgraceful; it illustrates the motives which governed many senators in refusing to repeal the Tenure-of-Office Act—a measure which allowed them to buy their own places with other places, that is to say, with the people's money. On Friday Mr. Brownlow obtained a victory like Mr. Ross's. Mr. Ashley's confirmation as Governor of Montana is another scandal. We suppose Mr. Sumner gave his support to the "original impeacher," and not to the ex-congressman and ex-committeeman of whom such stories are told as very thoroughly justify his district for dispensing with his services. The story goes that Grant did not feel free to decline to nominate Ashley, because he had the united support of the Ohio representatives and senators. The fault of the Ohio members does not, however, seem at all a valid excuse for the President's action.

The President has shown, however, every disposition to correct mistakes when pointed out to him. For some of the worst ones, such as that in the case of Wadsworth, for instance, he can hardly be called responsible, inasmuch as Wadsworth experienced no difficulty in getting any number of signatures of prominent men to his testimonials—politicians, editors, and others apparently considering the

signing of their name to a recommendation for office to be something they owe to any of God's creatures who chooses to ask for it. The case of Original Impeacher Ashley is, perhaps, the worst of all, and in this the public would be justified in being very severe on the President, if it were not that the Senate has done in cold blood, and after full debate with all the facts before it, what the President may have done through ignorance and inadvertence. Ashley, while Chairman of the Committee on Territories, entered into agreement with a land speculator, named Case, agreeing to supply him with information as to the Committee's intentions, and so to enable him to speculate successfully, exacting half of any money Case might make. The affair was examined by a Committee of the House, Ashley's letters to Case produced in evidence, and the charge fully proved, but he was let off because it did not appear that he had received any money under the agreement. This was eight years ago, and he has since been endeavoring to cover up his misconduct by "soundness on the main question," roaring for impeachment, and denouncing the wickedness of Andrew Johnson; and the Senate appears to have accepted these and the recommendation of one hundred and fifty Congressmen as a sufficient atonement for one of the most disgraceful abuses of his trust of which a legislator could be guilty. The worthy is now provided for by the Governorship of Montana. There is, of course, some consolation in the fact that he was only confirmed by one vote, but then when such a man as Mr. Sumner might have changed the result, and did not, one cannot help expressing the earnest wish that somebody of Mr. Sumner's standing would explain the principles on which they understand this Government to be based. If they really believe that moral character is of no consequence in the servants of a republic, they ought to say so frankly, and give us their reasons, and not beat about the bush as they have done in Butler's and Ashley's case.

On Thursday, in the Senate, Mr. Anthony had read by the Clerk a letter from Messrs. Brown, Ives & Co., in which those gentlemen did what all Rhode Island seems to be doing with great vehemence—"repudiated" Mr. Sprague's recent aspersions. If their house is in need of advertising they may certainly be much obliged to the young senator. By Mr. Anthony's device the Browns' "card" goes into the *Globe*, and posterity, reading that paper in due course, gets the Browns' defence at almost the same time that it gets the calumnies of their enemy. On Saturday Mr. Sherman introduced a resolution passed by the Ohio Legislature which expostulates with Congress for its grants of land to railroad companies, and protests against the longer continuance of the practice of making them. When one or two more of the powerful States shall have given their representatives to understand that "robbing the public of its patrimony" must not be done by the help of their votes, there will be hope that the lobby may no longer be able to resist successfully the wish of the people. As things are now, the lobby buys up a majority in Congress, or enough of Congress to put their friends, honest or otherwise, in a majority, and these steal land for the Rings. The acres are counted by millions that have already been corruptly got in this way, and it is time we should wake up to the

fact that even the "boundless West" is considerably smaller than the "all creation" it is commonly called.

On Monday, Mr. Chandler, of Michigan, offered one of his habitual resolutions to the effect that the President be authorized to negotiate with England for the transfer of the British North American possessions to this country and the consequent abandonment by us of all claims against her. The speech in which he supported his views was tremendous. The Canadians and Nova Scotians and other Provincials would, however, have something to say in the matter of such a transfer; and we may tell Mr. Chandler that we have been in the Provinces, and that he himself personally, by name, and in his specific character of senator, constitutes an obstacle to our happy union with the Dominion; he points a moral, sometimes, in Nova Scotia, against the admirableness of American democratic government. His speech confirms us in the impression that the opposition to his re-election in Michigan last summer was due to "British gold." The agents of the British Government naturally enough spread abroad the report that he drank too much, but this calumny was promptly refuted, as our readers may remember, by General Butler. We wonder what that corrupt and unscrupulous power will now bring up against this distinguished man, when its minions read this last speech and feel his lash on their miserable hides.

Those of our friends in Pennsylvania who had their doubts if we were not too civil to our own legislature when we called theirs the corruptest in the Union, may have some of those doubts removed by looking into the *Harrisburg State Journal*. "Anything that had money in it," says that paper, "however unfair, disgraceful, and destructive it might be, was sure to pass." And again: "Divorce bills were openly sold in the lobbies; the Tax Bill was bought through the House, and when it reached the Senate \$2,000 a vote was freely offered for its passage." The *Independent* takes up the tale also, and appears to suspect the members of many crimes besides bribery and corruption. "We simply mean to characterize it," it says, "as the most suspicious-looking public body we ever saw." "Never before," it continues, "have we seen so squalid an array of low brows grouped together in any one legislative body." Solid Pennsylvanians, it appears, do not hesitate to say, with profanity, that the present legislature is "the most corrupt that ever preyed upon that bleeding commonwealth." This beats Albany a little; but things there are getting so bad that the careful *Times* calls names, and tells of five or six Republican senators whom it openly charges with being purchasable and purchased. The Democratic members are not precisely to a man counted on as a matter of course to sell their votes, but nobody thinks of the majority of them as not being in the market. What is to be done about it all nobody seems to know. The abolition of all "special legislation" is advocated by some, and the covering of all the legislative ground by general enactments—a remedy which, to be thoroughly efficacious, should be coupled with another change in the constitution which should give us non-elective judges to interpret our general statutes. As for the greater but less glaring rascality of Washington, one newspaper correspondent of character and sense, not afraid to tell all he knows, might do a great deal in the way of putting a stop to it, to say nothing of what he might do for his paper.

The Rhode Islanders seem to have gone clean daft over the attacks of Senator Sprague on "Ives & Co." and on General Burnside. The Providence papers contain little else than replies and denunciations of the fiercest kind directed against the senator. Nothing more foolish or malignant than Mr. Sprague's speeches was probably ever uttered in a legislative body, and the assault on General Burnside would deserve punishment of some kind if uttered by anybody else. But the speeches have been, on the whole, so wild and incoherent, that it is quite plain either that he is not fairly responsible for them, or they are not worth answering. The tempest they have stirred up has really given them nearly all their weight. Besides, there is always something ludicrous in the sensitiveness of a whole community, and if we

might be allowed to offer advice to the Rhode Island press, it would be to drop Mr. Sprague and let him get up his "Poor Man's Bank."

Mr. Boutwell is busily engaged in anticipating the May and July interest, and has, it is reported, paid off half a million in this way, and has thus far effected a saving to the Government through the rebate of \$1,700. We have little doubt that, by close attention to business, he may before the first of July bring this amount up to \$3,000, and then we shall all be happy and prosperous. What pleases us most in this financial operation is that it will in some degree furnish a set-off to the millions of waste which will probably take place during the next half year through the appointment of new and untried officers to nearly every post of importance connected with the revenue. Mr. Wells calculates that the regular waste and stealings of these functionaries in an ordinary year amount to about \$75,000,000; the year when they are all changed, we are satisfied \$25,000,000 is a small sum to add to this amount for the loss caused through the total derangement of the machine; but against this nefarious system Mr. Boutwell has not a word to say, or at least has never said a word. He has, however, done one good thing in cutting down the force at the Treasury Department, where supernumeraries are reported to have abounded.

What with Cuban rumors and the *Alabama* question, gold has crept up three or four per cent. and is now close on 135—and it will probably stay there for a while. Mr. Motley is getting his instructions for London, and they are said to be very precise and extensive, and leave little play for his discretion, Messrs. Sumner, Evarts, and Caleb Cushing lending a hand in framing them. The tone of the English press, however, leaves little ground for the expectation that the negotiation is likely to be soon renewed. There is no reason to believe that the present Ministry will offer anything more than Mr. Johnson got, and the prevailing sentiment here is in favor of letting the matter lie as it is. Anybody who supposes that England is likely soon to offer an apology for the issue of the Queen's proclamation of neutrality we believe to be greatly mistaken; and so is anybody who supposes that Americans will be satisfied unless they get one. Mr. Sumner's use of the case of the *Leopard* and *Chesapeake* as an illustration shows how far apart the two parties still are. No ministry would venture to put the issue of a royal proclamation on the same level with an unauthorized outrage committed by the captain of a frigate, and apologize for it to a foreign power. We therefore cannot help believing that the introduction into the case of the issue of the proclamation, not simply as an unfriendly act and as evidence of animus in the *Alabama* matter, but as a positive wrong in itself, needing atonement, makes a friendly settlement indefinitely remote and opens up a smiling prospect to the gold gamblers.

We spoke last week of the singular indifference to "the claims of the press" displayed by General Grant in his appointments. But one leading editor has been offered an office, and he has declined it. When one contrasts this with the lavish distribution of places amongst editors and publishers which marked the advent of Mr. Lincoln's administration, it looks, at first blush, as if the moulders of public opinion had not been fairly dealt with. But the circumstances are different. Mr. Lincoln's election was due to the triumph of certain ideas, and to this triumph the editors had contributed more than any other body of men. If the proposed use of offices, therefore, be to reward those who have done most for the party, the editors were entitled in 1861 to a very large share of them, and they got it. To Grant's election they have contributed comparatively little. Some of the principal newspapers have accepted him as a *pis aller*, and, at all events, his triumph was simply a continuation of the process which Mr. Lincoln began. The consequence is that they have now been confined to the humble and obscure task of recommending people for office. Some of them have made the usual number of journeys to Washington, and done the usual amount of lobbying on behalf of their protégés, but, we are glad to say, got nothing for themselves.



The practice of editors taking office is reprehensible in more ways than one, but principally in this, that it throws an air of gammon over all their denunciations of the faults of politicians proper, and makes their articles, at least for some time before election, pass for so much hackwork done in expectation of substantial pay. There is, we know, a pleasant theory amongst themselves that the compliments paid them by politicians are due to an appreciation of their services to the community; but the truth is that nearly all the praises of editors and of the editorial office one hears come from editors themselves. The reverence of the public for them has a strong infusion of devil worship in it; that is, people are deferential to them through pure fear of being abused and made odious by them. They will never get any higher claims to respect till they keep out of the scramble for office, and stop "recommending" their creatures and hangers-on.

We are glad to say, however, that the repetition of this scramble and the shocking abuses which it reveals, combined with the rapid growth and spread of corruption, and the exclusion of editors from office, has done a good deal towards directing public attention to the necessity of a change in the system. The press of both parties has within the last week or two spoken more strongly than ever in favor of the adoption of the Jenckes plan, or something like it. Mr. Jenckes brought the subject up once more in Committee of the Whole on the 9th inst., and will bring his bill in once more in December. In the meantime everybody who has any regard for the country, not to speak of decency or morality, ought to do what he can toward frightening Congressmen into supporting it. We say frightening, because appeals to the reason of a large number of them seem utterly useless. The war, it is popularly supposed, "saved the Union." It did nothing of the kind; it simply gave the people another chance of saving it from the attacks of enemies compared with whom Davis and Lee were but fleas.

Mr. Boutwell's offer of the Appraisership of this port to Mr. Dana of the *Sun*, an offer which Mr. Dana declined, is a curiosity in its way, inasmuch as it was in reality an offer to turn Mr. McElrath, a faithful and efficient officer of whom no complaint has ever been made, out of an office with the duties of which he is perfectly familiar, for the purpose of giving it to Mr. Dana, who had not asked for it, and who, according to Mr. Boutwell, "probably had neither taste nor inclination for it." It is "a point on which," adds the sagacious Secretary of the Treasury, "our success in collecting the customs revenue turns, and I know of no way in which you can render so efficient aid to the Government." Begging Mr. Boutwell's pardon, his "success in collecting the customs" turns on nothing of the kind. It turns on his ability to keep men in office, and encourage them, who are doing their duties honestly and faithfully; and the idea that the collection of the revenue can be helped by putting them out and putting in others who have "neither taste nor inclination" for the duties would probably have entered the head of nobody but an ingrained politician. Mr. Dana, would, we know, have discharged the duties of the office faithfully, but he has rendered the public a service in refusing it, and sticking to his editorial post, where, we are glad to hear, he is going to "denounce and expose political immorality."

The Cuban news—and we are careful to take it from sources friendly to the "insurgents"—consists of a report of the arrival in Washington of letters from prominent Cuban leaders "in which the utmost confidence in their ultimate success is expressed;" of a rumor of the close investment of certain Spaniards in two fortified convents by Quesada's forces, 6,000 strong; of an announcement that the "provisional government" is going to issue "an important manifesto;" of the seizure of several lots of sugar at Havana, and of the killing of two negroes by a mob in the same place; of the receipt of a letter in Savannah (Ga.) announcing the arrival of "three volunteer expeditions" from Florida, and of great desertions amongst the Spanish forces; and of a rumor of a "heavy

engagement"—of which, we need hardly say, "no particulars have been received." There is also a report of the sudden disappearance of a patriot army of 12,000 men on the approach of three converging Spanish columns of very inferior force—an exploit which the Cuban sympathizers seem to think very remarkable and even hopeful; but it is hard to see what the insurgents gain by the assembling of themselves together if they dissolve when the enemy appears, because the use of armies is generally supposed to be the attack and destruction of other armies. As we have said before, however, the military "operations" on the island are mere by-play; the real contest is going on in Washington and New York, and in those places the Spaniards always get the worst of it. General Dulce's senseless proclamation, threatening to treat filibusters as pirates and immediately execute them, has of course furnished the Cubans with abundant materials for rumors. Of this the President had to take notice, and its execution would, of course, cause trouble; so the Cuban agents have during the week filled the columns of the organs of the Lie Power with stories of recognition, of the fitting out of fleets and armies, and the despatch of envoys requiring the Spaniards to quit the island. All sober observers, however, agree in representing the disturbances in the island as subsiding; and as reinforcements of troops are constantly arriving from Spain, it will probably be before long so thoroughly policed that even the burning of plantations will become difficult.

The Belgian difficulty with France was supposed to be settled by the appointment of a mixed commission to pass upon all matters in dispute, but it is now announced that the proceedings are arrested by the inability of the two governments to agree upon the questions to be submitted for its discussion and decision. What the precise nature of the difference is, the despatches do not say, but the probabilities are that the French are not disposed to be accommodating, owing to the increasing pressure of the opposition at home. The attacks in the Corps Législatif increase in weight and violence, and the resistance of the ministers appears, since their check on the Haussmann affair, to grow feebler. M. Thiers has been unusually active during the last few weeks, and is gradually throwing aside the air of respect for the Constitution which marked his speeches in the earlier days of the opposition. The power of concluding commercial treaties without consulting the Legislature, which the Emperor retains, and has exercised with England, as well as more recently with other powers, is proving one of the most exasperating incidents of the Imperial régime. The manufacturers, who are suffering from the treaty complain of it all the more bitterly because it is the result of an exercise of arbitrary power, and the telegraph tells us that a great scene has recently taken place in the Chamber in consequence of M. Thiers pronouncing "the political liberties of France, like her commercial liberties, a farce."

The feeling of soreness has doubtless been aggravated by the recent publication, in an appendix to Professor Bonamy Price's new book on the currency, of a letter from M. Michel Chevalier, giving an account of the way the treaty was framed, and it must be admitted that the story is, for Frenchmen, a little provoking. He says the idea of entering on a free-trade policy was first conceived by the Government in 1855, after the Exposition, and it proposed to the Legislature to remove all prohibitory duties; but the proposal was promptly rejected, and it was evident that no progress in that direction was possible with the sanction of the Chambers. Being in England in 1859, M. Chevalier mooted with Mr. Cobden the plan of a treaty of commerce in the interest of free trade, talked it over with him and with Bright, and obtained the warm support of both; then settled the basis of it in three-quarters of an hour with Gladstone, and then started for Paris, followed *secretly* by Cobden. They were received separately by the Emperor in order not to excite suspicion, and after a few consultations, regular negotiations were opened by Cobden and Lord Cowley on behalf of England, and MM. Baroche and Chevalier on behalf of France, and by January, 1860, the treaty was signed. Then it was for the first time revealed to the world, and there was a regular rush of protectionists to the Tuileries, but it was too late,

## MR. SUMNER AND THE PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY.

THERE is little doubt that Mr. Sumner's exposition before the Senate of the so-called "*Alabama* claims" receives the approval of a great majority of the people of the Northern States, including many who have no sympathy with his favorite ideas, and who generally skip his classical allusions with some contempt and more impatience. His argument was, in closeness, directness, and legal force, happily superior to many of his recent speeches. The character of the subject appears to have revived in the senator's mind the effect of that juristical training to which it was subjected in earlier days. In rejecting the Johnson and Clarendon convention it is clear that the Senate has acted in accordance with the general sentiment of the country. It was very desirable to have some generally received statement of the foundation of that sentiment, and it is likely that Mr. Sumner's argument will stand as such, at least for the present. Even those who differ from him as to the extent of the claims of the United States may agree as to the objectionable form or character of the convention, and its failure to correspond to the circumstances on which those claims must be founded, even supposing them limited to compensation for the vessels and cargoes actually destroyed by ships of the *Alabama* class. The English journals, in charging the Americans with unreasonable dissatisfaction with the proposals on the English side, have often represented these proposals as including a positive consent on the part of England to make such compensation. From the confessions which have been publicly made in England during the last four years, and the compliments which Mr. Johnson's appearance at British feasts as our representative has elicited, the American public had been led to believe that this consent, with at least an implied acknowledgment of something very like wrong-doing on the part of the British Government, was virtually given. They do not look upon the offer of an opportunity to refer the question of payment for such and such a ship or ships and cargo to some accidental arbiter, on the same footing as any private claims which may be brought forward on the other side, as being a fulfilment of expectations hitherto entertained. There is a general feeling that in this respect the national sentiment has been trifled with.

The difference between the recognition of the Confederates as belligerents according to their actual military and naval force, and the concession of belligerency to the Southern States in their confederacy, so as to give nationality to armed ships issuing out of a neutral port, has not hitherto been made sufficiently prominent in this discussion. Mr. Sumner's argument is good for its statement at least, if not for its application, of this distinction, which we are inclined to regard as giving the key to the controversy about the "*Alabama* claims," so far as it involves a question of strict international law. But we are by no means confident that in this controversy our Government should insist that this distinction was overlooked by Great Britain in taking international cognizance of the rebellion by the Queen's proclamation of neutrality May 31, 1861; as Mr. Sumner says,

Close upon the outbreak of our troubles, just one month after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, when the rebellion was still undeveloped, when the National Government was beginning those gigantic efforts which ended so triumphantly, the country was startled by the news that the British Government had intervened by a proclamation, which accorded belligerent rights to the rebels. At the early date when this was done the rebels were, as they remained to the close, without ships on the ocean, without prize courts or other tribunals for the administration of justice on the ocean, without any of those conditions which are the essential prerequisites to such a concession; and yet the concession was general, being applicable to the ocean and the land, so that by British fiat they became ocean belligerents as well as land belligerents. In the swiftness of this bestowal there was very little consideration for a friendly power; nor does it appear that there was any enquiry into those conditions precedent on which it must depend. Ocean belligerency being a "fact," and not a "principle," can be recognized only on evidence showing its actual existence, according to the rule first stated by Mr. Canning and afterwards recognized by Earl Russell. But no such evidence was adduced; for it did not exist and never has existed. Too much stress cannot be laid upon the rule that belligerency is a "fact," and not a "principle." It is, perhaps, the most important contribution to this discussion; and its original statement, on the occasion of the Greek revolution, does honor to its author, unquestionably the brightest genius ever directed to this subject. According to this rule, belligerency must be proved to exist, it must be shown. It cannot be imagined or divined or invented; it must exist as a "fact" within the knowledge of the world, or at least as a "fact" susceptible of proof.

Nor can it be inferred from the ocean merely from its existence on the land. Unfriendly in the precipitancy with which it was launched, this concession was more unfriendly in substance. It was the first stage in the depredations on our commerce. Had it not been made no rebel ship could have been built in England. Every step in her building would have been piracy. Nor could any munitions of war have been furnished. The direct consequence of this concession was to place the rebels on an equality with ourselves in all British markets, whether of ships or munitions of war. As these were open to the National Government, so were they open to the rebels. The asserted neutrality between the two began by this tremendous concession when rebels, at one stroke, were transformed not only into belligerents but into customers. In attributing to that bad proclamation this peculiar influence, I follow the authority of the law lords of England, who, according to authentic report, announced that without it the fitting out of a ship in England to cruise against the United States would have been an act of piracy. This conclusion was clearly stated by Lord Chelmsford, ex-Chancellor, speaking for himself and others, when he said: "If the Southern Confederacy had not been recognized as a belligerent power, he agreed with his noble and learned friend (Lord Brougham) that, under these circumstances, if any Englishmen were to fit out a privateer for the purpose of assisting the Southern States against the Northern States, he would be guilty of piracy." This conclusion is only according to analogies of law.

Exception may well be taken to many of these assertions. Up to the time of the proclamation any American might have been a customer for ships or munitions of war in British ports. The Southerners had been buying in preparation for the war, and if no notice whatever had been taken by the British Government of the existence of a rebellion, as Mr. Sumner appears to intimate was possible, any person, British or American, Northerner or Southerner, might have gone on exporting ships and munitions to Southern or Northern States; provided he took them as articles of commerce and not in a ship under a new flag, not known in commerce or hostile to the United States. Of course our consuls must soon have begun to refuse the necessary papers, and our minister would have begun to call for the arrest of the parties engaged in the commerce with the South, as persons engaged in piratical enterprises, or as subjects of Great Britain engaged in unlawful designs against our peace and safety, and, as such, coming within the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act. Mr. Sumner insinuates, rather than affirms, that it was the duty of England to have taken this course throughout the rebellion. But this would not have been to ignore the rebellion. That was impossible. Unless we assert that by the rules of international law every government, in case of a rebellion, is entitled to receive the commercial assistance of every friendly power, without reference to the actual strength of the rebellion, it must be admitted that the British Government would have been justified at some time or other in taking the position of neutrality. Mr. Sumner's argument is, that if this position of neutrality had not first been taken there would have been no such belligerency *in fact* as could justify this position on the part of any foreign power.

On this point, which we cannot now properly consider, we may be obliged to differ from the prevailing opinion. We have recently said that there were circumstances attending the proclamation of neutrality and the progress of the rebellion which have made the question between the two countries one of feeling, and we readily concede the force of Mr. Sumner's exposition of the reasons for the feeling on the American side. But it must, we think, be admitted on the part of the United States, if we propose to negotiate at all, that the proclamation of neutrality, at some time before the issuing of the *Alabama*, could not of itself be a ground of international complaint. Mr. Sumner says, "That England became an 'arsenal' for the rebels we know, but this could not have been unless the proclamation had prepared the way." But it was the violation of the proclamation and of English laws that made England an arsenal for the rebels. The effect of the proclamation was to close "the markets of ships and munitions," not to "open" them, as Mr. Sumner states it, to the two "contending parties," as the proclamation styles them.

The concession of belligerency, if it may be called by that name, which violated the principle laid down by Mr. Sumner, was not made by this proclamation. It is now urged by the English jurists that a violation of the municipal laws can be no grievance to another nation, unless the act itself is also contrary to international law. They claim further that as this law now exists, privateers, or armed cruisers in the service of a foreign state, may lawfully issue out from neutral ports. Now it is here, we think, that the principle which Mr. Sumner has



brought forward becomes applicable. The proclamation must be, because it can be, interpreted as recognizing belligerency according to the fact. The point we would make, and which Mr. Sumner states elsewhere in his speech, is, that the Confederacy had no such status that it could make a privateer of a ship equipped in a neutral port. The American Government did not accord this status to the Confederacy by proclaiming a blockade of Southern ports, because that was a recognition of belligerency only according to the "fact."

The United States had that status, and might, as the law of privateers now is, have sent out such a cruiser. This is a superiority which every recognized nation must have, if there are to be such things as recognized nations. Mr. Sumner argues as if a proclamation of neutrality between the two "contending parties" on the part of England could give the Southern Confederacy this status. Of course it may be that in the minds of Mr. Laird and the British public, the proclamation was taken to have this effect. But that is not our affair. Mr. Sumner, and Mr. Seward before him, have erred, we suggest, in making the recognition of the *Alabama*, as a lawful cruiser the legal consequence of that recognition of a civil war which was made by the British proclamation. According to this reasoning, France is equally responsible with England for the issuing of the *Alabama*.

With the view we here take, we can admit that cruisers sailing from a Southern port and putting into English harbors were properly treated as belligerent ships, and not pirates. We can even admit that, had the *Alabama* been run out to a Southern port as a mere article of commerce, though in violation of English municipal laws, and had thence sailed as a cruiser, she might have been entitled to like consideration. The ship once identified, *in fact*, with the Confederate force, would admit of belligerent recognition to the extent of the fact. But, on the other hand, there could be no recognition of the belligerency of the Confederacy by land and sea as a "principle," which should apply to an armed ship issued out of a neutral port, least of all by the neutral from whose ports and against whose law she had issued. It is from insufficiency of legal terms that we connect "belligerency" with the *Alabama*. The ship, on the facts, was in the same category as if the English proclamation had never been issued, and no "contending parties" had been recognized by the English Government. Mr. Sumner says, with justice:

The dedication of the ship to the rebel service, from the very laying of the keel and the organization of her voyage, with England as *naval base*, from which she drew munitions of war and men, made her departure as much a *hostile expedition* as if she had sailed forth from her Majesty's dockyard. At a moment of profound peace between the United States and England there was a hostile expedition against the United States. It was in no just sense a commercial transaction, but an act of war.

Mr. Sumner's speech has the old ear-mark of the emancipationist. He seems to think that England was bound, by ancient anti-slavery ties, to render assistance against the Confederacy. Southern secession was in the interest of slavery, therefore, etc., etc., says Mr. Sumner. But if he really means to maintain that nations are bound by the professions of their public men, who is to answer for Messrs. Banks and Chandler?

While generally agreeing with Mr. Sumner in his argument for the rejection of the Johnson and Clarendon convention, we cannot wish that it should be a foundation for future negotiation. It was understood that Mr. Seward had abandoned the position that the "*Alabama* claims" are founded on the proclamation of neutrality, and we hope that the present Administration will not return to it.

We agree with Mr. Sumner, that we are entitled to a convention, giving reparation on the ground that a principle of international law has been violated on the part of England; and if it is clear that that has occurred, the acknowledgment is perfectly consistent with national honor and dignity. We would confine our claims to the limits of fact and international law; the existence of a certain national feeling or sympathy may have been an ulterior cause of greater losses, but it cannot be made a basis of demands and reparations.

#### "TIGHT MONEY," AND WHAT MAKES IT.

THE high rates of interest paid by borrowers of money during the last few weeks, the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply even at these high rates, the steadiness with which the rates have been maintained for an unusual length of time, and the prevalence of this scarce-

ity at all the leading financial centres of the country, have had so decided an influence on so many varied interests, and have brought "the money market" home to so many firesides, that many people outside the business world are interested in the phenomenon.

Everybody asks, What makes money scarce or tight at one time, and abundant or easy at another time, when we at all times have precisely the same amount of money in circulation? When we speak of money being easy to borrow, we do not mean easy to borrow in sums of five or ten or twenty dollars; we mean easy to borrow in sums of thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands. Large sums of money can, of course, only be borrowed from large institutions, like banks, or private banking-houses, or trust companies, or similar corporations. To say, therefore, that money is easy, is merely another way of saying that the banks and other financial institutions have large accumulations of money in their hands. To say that money is tight, is merely another way of saying that the accumulations of money in the hands of banks and other financial institutions are light. The question, therefore, resolves itself into this other question, What makes money at one time accumulate in the banks, and at another time leave the banks and go elsewhere, and where does it go to?

The amounts of money controlled by banks and other financial institutions are so overwhelmingly large compared with the amounts at any time under the ordinary control of private individuals, that we are apt to think that a very large share of the whole money of the country is in the possession or under the control of the banks. Nothing could well be more erroneous. The total amount of paper money (greenbacks, fractional currency, and national bank-notes) in circulation in the whole of the United States has, for the last two years past, been, in round numbers, seven hundred millions, and has not during that time ever materially varied. The largest amount held at any one time during that period by all the banks in the country was \$133,000,000, in January, 1868, or not quite one-fifth of the whole. The smallest amount held at any one time during that period was \$99,000,000; in April of the same year, or somewhat less than one-seventh of the whole. Of all the currency in circulation in the whole of the United States, the banks throughout the country hold on an average one-sixth, or say, \$125,000,000. The other five-sixths, or say \$575,000,000, the people carry in their pockets, or hold in their money-drawers.

Every wholesale merchant has some money in his safe, from which he makes the ordinary minor payments incidental to his business. Every retail merchant, from the owner of a dry-goods palace to the smallest news-stand or corner-grocery, has some bank-notes in his drawer when he closes the store for the night. Every housekeeper that goes shopping or marketing carries a roll of bills more or less large. The mechanic or the laborer carries a week's wages in his pocket until they are spent, or deposited in the bank, or laid aside in some safe place towards paying the rent. The cattle-dealer has his belt, the farmer his stout wallet, every traveller his purse, the railroad-conductor his handful, the expressman his envelope, every man, woman, or child, from the prince to the beggar, carries a porte-monnaie, or receptacle of some kind, all more or less full of greenbacks, or national bank-notes, or fractional currency, all holding a certain part, however small, however large, of the grand total of the money in the country. The money thus held by the people amounts to about five sixths of the whole money in the country. When the banks hold \$125,000,000, the people hold \$575,000,000. The true bank of the country is the people's pockets. The so-called banks hold only the surplus which the people do not need. When, therefore, money accumulates in the latter, it is simply evidence that the people are using less money in their business, are carrying less money in their pockets. When money leaves the banks it is simply evidence that the people are using more money in their business, are carrying more money in their pockets. When the people are using little money, money accumulates in the banks. When money accumulates in the banks, money is easy to borrow. Therefore, when the people are using little money, money is easy to borrow. When the people are using much money, they withdraw the surplus from the banks, and the accumulations in the banks decline. When the accumulations in the banks decline, money is difficult to borrow. Therefore, when the people are using much money, money is difficult to borrow.

The bulk of the money is in the hands and pockets of the people. What the people do not require, is temporarily left in the banks. This surplus, temporarily left with the banks on deposit, is the money that the banks have to lend. When the owner calls for it, the bank has to call upon the borrower to return it. The bank never lends it all, never lends, or never should lend, more than a portion of the surplus left with it. If, then, only one or two or a few owners call for their money, the bank is not necessarily obliged to call upon the borrowers to return it; the bank has probably enough on hand to pay these owners without calling in its loans. Or if the bank has not enough surplus on hand, and does have to call in some of its loans, other banks will probably have surplus enough on hand to lend a little more, and the borrower can thus be accommodated elsewhere. But if the bank, or a number of banks, should have been so foolish as to lend the whole of the surplus deposited with them, or if a great many of the owners of this surplus should call upon the banks at one and the same time to have their money returned, the banks would then be compelled to call in their loans, and the borrowers would find it extremely difficult to borrow elsewhere, and money would be in very active demand, and difficult to get, and the papers would chronicle daily for their readers, and "gloomy husbands would report nightly to disappointed wives, that money is very tight."

The amount of money kept in daily use by the people is so very large compared with the amount of money held by the banks, that it becomes easy to understand how a very slight increase in the amount required by the people causes a very large decrease in the amount at the disposal of the banks. When the people hold \$575,000,000, or five-sixths of the whole, and the banks one-sixth, or \$125,000,000, an increase of one per cent. in the amount used by the people is equal to a decrease of five per cent. in the amount at the disposal of the banks. When the people hold \$575,000,000 or at a rough average sixteen dollars apiece, an increase of the average holding from sixteen dollars to seventeen would deprive the banks of over one-fourth of the whole amount of money at their disposal. In January, 1868, the banks held \$133,000,000 in currency, and money was so abundant, and so easy to borrow, that people scarcely knew what to do with it. All the money that anybody needed could be borrowed, on good security, at six and even five per cent. By the 1st of April of the same year the banks had lost \$34,000,000, that is to say, the people had taken into use, in addition to what they had before, the sum of \$34,000,000, or less than one dollar each. Yet by the 1st of April all the money markets were in a panic, money was worth one-quarter of one per cent. a day, or over ninety per cent. per annum, and could scarcely be obtained even at that price. Of course every one familiar with Wall Street operations knows that these extreme rates were to a great extent artificial, and in many cases even fictitious, but neither artifice nor fiction could well have put the rates to such extravagant figures, if the scarcity had not been real; and indeed there is no doubt that the scarcity was real and very severe. The quarterly reports of the national banks, which were not published until long afterwards, showed that not only the banks of New York, which alone could be affected by the artifices of speculative combinations, but all banks throughout the country, had lost large amounts of currency, or in other words, that the amount of currency in the hands of the people had really increased, and that the scarcity, however aggravated by artificial means, was in itself natural, and was really caused by the increased amount of money required by the people in some way or other for the transaction of their daily business.

Not only is it apparent that the stringency in last April was natural and real, but there is every indication that the same influences which affected the money markets then are still at work now, and brought about in the same natural way the stringency of the last few months. We cannot well avoid a few figures, which tell their own story. The following are the amounts of currency (greenbacks, national bank-notes, and fractional currency) held by all the banks of the United States at the dates given:

July 1, 1867.	Oct. 1, 1867.	Jan. 1, 1868.	April 1, 1868.
\$119,000,000.	\$113,000,000.	\$133,000,000.	\$99,000,000.
July 1, 1868.	Oct. 1, 1868.	Jan. 1, 1869.	April 1, 1869.
\$116,000,000.	\$107,000,000.	\$106,000,000.	?

On the 1st of July, 1867, the amount in the banks was very near to

the average, one-sixth. The grain crop was good, and the cotton crop was thought very good, and both crops were rapidly brought to market, requiring the use of a good deal of money, and the supply in the banks fell off to \$113,000,000 in October. But business as a general thing was not prosperous, prices of most articles had materially declined, the cotton crop as far as sold had brought very low prices, the planters had refused to sell the balance, winter set in early and stopped the transportation of grain, and people throughout the country found themselves less well-off than they had anticipated, less able to spend money, and with less business and less opportunity to use money; money, therefore, rapidly returned to the banks, and by the 1st of January, 1868, had accumulated to the extent of \$133,000,000, the largest amount the banks had held for some time. During January and February the condition did not materially change, but the poor crop of breadstuffs in Europe caused a renewal of the active movement in our own crops; the West were sellers of cereals and meats at high prices, without buying many goods in exchange, the farmers were getting more greenbacks than ever, and were holding them firmly. At the same time the movement first began to develop itself which more than any other has influenced the course of the money market during the last twelvemonth. The low prices realized for the cotton crop in the earlier part of the season had very much discouraged the Southern people; they felt poor and were poor, and were neither in the mood nor the position to spend money. They had held back a portion of their crop, and had managed to live on the proceeds of what they had sold. When the cotton market rapidly improved, they had still a fair supply to sell, and as they were not in debt, they could exact and receive payment in money, which accordingly went South in considerable quantities, and has remained there ever since.

When the banks held \$125,000,000 of money, and the people held \$575,000,000, and it was calculated that the whole people of the country held on an average sixteen dollars, it was not of course implied that the money was distributed with any degree of regularity. Individuals held amounts far exceeding the average, and whole classes of people held amounts far below the average. In the same way the people of certain parts of the country were holding and using in their business more than the people of other parts; while the people in other parts, from choice or accident, or from any other cause, held or were using far less than the average. It is notorious that the amount of money held or used by the people of the Southern and Southwestern States in the spring of 1868 was almost nominal. We have seen that the average amount held by the whole people was sixteen dollars. It is certainly not an exaggeration to estimate that the average held by the people of the Southern and Southwestern States did not exceed eight dollars. Now, if we suppose that the unsold balance of the cotton crop and the lands sold at that time to Northern purchasers had furnished the South with sufficient money to enable each individual to increase his average holding from eight to twelve dollars, which would still be far below the average of the whole country, and supposing the States in question to contain eight millions of people, we could at once account for the total loss incurred by the banks between January and April, 1868. Since the latter date, the amount in the banks has, with natural fluctuations, steadily decreased, until the amount held by them on the 1st instant—judging from the condition of the New York banks alone, the figures for all the banks not having been published—must have sunk even below that held at the same time last year, causing the extreme stringency that has for weeks past been the subject of so much discussion.

It must be evident that the increased amount of money held by the people at large in consequence of the increased holdings of the Southern people, is very different in its effects from any ordinary increase brought about by temporary causes. When the people withdraw from the banks a portion of their surplus in order to employ it in bringing their crops to market, they do not withdraw it permanently, but, on the contrary, as soon as the crops are sold they return it to the banks, where it helps to swell the banks' accumulations and to make money cheap and easy until it is needed for another crop. But the money which the South has received within the last fifteen months is scarcely yet sufficient for their ordinary wants on the lowest



possible basis. There is for them no surplus to be returned when no longer needed; the money which they have received they will retain. Yet the whole money business of the whole country is based upon the calculation that the currency withdrawn from the banks for use by the people during the spring and fall is gradually returned during the summer and winter. It is a question of no slight importance what the consequences may be of disappointment in this expectation. But we have not left ourselves room to discuss it here.

### A FRENCH "LEAP AHEAD."

THE competition amongst a certain class of radical reformers for positions in the extreme front seems to be as keen as ever; in fact, as the years roll on, it grows keener. Our readers may remember—some of them, no doubt, with amusement—the curious forms which this honorable rivalry assumed in this country during the contest between President Johnson and Congress. First, when it became apparent that judgments could not be obtained from the Supreme Court, in accordance with what was pronounced to be "the spirit of the age," a loud cry was raised for the abolition of that tribunal, and the persons who first raised it enjoyed for some weeks an apparently assured position as the most "advanced thinkers" on this continent. But their pre-eminence was very short lived, for somebody else bethought him of abolishing the Senate, and the enemies of the Supreme Court at once sank into insignificance, as timid and half-hearted men, out of sympathy with the people and unworthy of their confidence. But there was no security even in this position, for before long the abolition of the presidency was demanded, and the man that wanted to get rid of the Senate saw his laurels fade on his thoughtful brow. After this there was nothing for it but to try Andrew Johnson, and the great object of ambition then became the invention of the strongest terms for the definition of his guilt, and for the description of the importance of the impeachment trial, and of the dreadful consequences to the human race that would result from his acquittal. Since the trial the competitors have turned their attention mainly to social questions, and they are occupied at present with the very bases of society—property and family.

The mode of dealing with these subjects resorted to by the more advanced of them is worthy of close attention on the part of all sensible men, who seriously propose to themselves to take part in the great work of setting the world to rights. One of the peculiarities of this mode we can best describe by saying that in it the one constant element in all sociological problems—human nature—is treated as if it did not exist. In other words, in dealing with large masses of men, they utterly discard the rules and tests which they invariably employ in dealing with and judging individuals. If an individual comes to them for assistance or advice, in trouble or misfortune, one of the first things they do is to form an opinion based on what they can learn of his history and antecedents, touching the extent to which his difficulties are due to inherent defects in his character. But they never conclude, or never act as if they concluded, that, if circumstances were made favorable for him, he would never do wrong or come to grief again. In counselling or helping him, they make large allowances for natural weaknesses; they recognize not only the existence of temptations around him, but of a liability on his part to fall a victim to temptation; in all they say to him and do for him, the prejudices, passions, meannesses, of human nature are present to their minds just as well as its strength, and greatness, and nobleness. In marrying their daughter to a man, they are not satisfied with learning that he is earning enough money to support a wife, and is likely to earn more. They do all they can to find out what qualities enter into his composition, whether his nature is such as to make him a pleasant and reliable person to live with; and if, from what they hear of him, they conclude he is likely to go off with another woman, or set a bad example to his children, they do all they can to prevent his becoming connected with them. If they have a friend, or protégé, employed at a small salary in a bank or counting-house, they acknowledge in the fullest manner his subjection to the laws of morality and the existing social arrangements; and if they hear some fine morning that he has forged a check, or robbed the till, they ascribe it unhesitatingly not to his employer's refusal to divide his fortune with him, or even give him a larger salary, but to his being himself a scamp.

In dealing with men in the mass they totally discard these rules, however, and generally refuse to allow that any of the great social evils are due to anything but the abuse of power on the part of somebody. If workingmen are not all comfortable, forehanded, and intelligent, the reason is, they say, that the legislature has not fixed the hours of labor, and capitalists are not

willing to pay higher wages. That the workingmen's want of prudence, economy, or natural ability has much, if anything, to do with the evils of their condition they never will admit. In like manner, they find married life in a very unsatisfactory state. Husbands and wives, in a great number of cases, live together very unhappily, and have many more children very often than they can support or educate, or than the wives' health will allow; but if you tell the class of reformers of which we are speaking, that a large portion of the evils in marriage is due to the same causes as all the evils of life, as the deceptions, and frailties, and passions which embitter all human relations, and constitute the great mystery of the universe, they set you down as an epicurean or selfish conservative, and refuse to listen to you.

The workingmen, they see, have little and suffer much; the capitalists have a great deal and enjoy much; the remedy, therefore, is, either to print off capital, and give it to the workingmen, or else compel the capitalists to go shares with them. Embody these arrangements in a bill, bring in your bill, read it three times, let the Governor sign it, and the great labor problem, which has perplexed mankind for four thousand years, is solved. Marriages are unhappy; husbands and wives won't suit each other, and wives do not like having all the trouble and danger of bearing children. Now, you cannot deal with this problem, as with the labor problem, by legislation. There is no use in bringing a bill into Congress, providing that every second child shall be borne by the husband, and that women shall be naturally equally competent with men for all duties now performed by men, and that all women shall be tolerably happy. A two-thirds majority in both houses, powerful as it is, would be unable to give such a measure any real validity. The population would still be kept up in the same way as now, and a very large percentage of women "would still want what they hadn't got," and suffer a good deal from "general debility," bad teeth, and bad servants, and a deficiency of money. Being fully aware of all this, and seeing that there is in marriage a great deal of unhappiness, the reformers are now, by way of removing it, doing what they can to abolish marriage, and substitute for it what we really must call promiscuous intercourse. We know very well that they would protest against the application of this term to their grand plan; but then this is really what their grand plan would result in, and what the partial adoption of their plan by a portion of the population is resulting in. The theory of marriage as an institution of civilized society has always been, and is now, in most countries, that the contracting parties owe certain duties to society, and are bound, for its sake, to submit to certain sacrifices, or even hardships. These are to live together, and form one family, except in the case of grave breaches of the contract on the part of one or the other, and to provide a home, maintenance, and education for their children, until the children were able to take care of themselves. The new theory is, that society has nothing to do with the marriage contract, except to provide a form for its celebration and attestation, and that its duration should depend entirely on the will or caprice of the husband or wife; that as to the children, one of the parents—it is not clear which—owes them a maintenance of some kind, while all that the community owes them is "the ballot," and that a child who asks for more than this, and complains of not having a home or parental care, is an unreasonable little creature with feudal tastes.

What our reformers plead for here, however, and what a good many of them practise, is simply easy divorce—in other words, the dissolution of the marriage contract by a judicial tribunal, whenever either of the parties alleges that he or she has had enough of it. To deny a person this, they say, is to cut him off from the "pursuit of happiness," which is well known to be one of the "inalienable rights." This is, it must be admitted, tolerably advanced ground, and they have greatly enjoyed standing on it, but they will be pained to hear that a French sister has got ahead of them and now leads the march on that line; and she is not one of the ignorant declaimers, or fanatics of the "Redoute," but an exceedingly acute thinker and powerful writer, of whom a very large proportion of our woman's rights champions here might profitably take lessons in logic and rhetoric. We mean Madame Clémence Royer, of whose able argument against the right of combination amongst the working classes, in the December number of the *Journal des Economistes*, we spoke some time ago. Her remedy for the evils of the workingman's condition we waited for with some curiosity, and she has produced it in a long article in the March number of the same periodical.

Her remedies are, first, the revival of the old trade corporations of the middle ages, but on a different basis, master and workman to be included in them; secondly, the "mobilization" of the workingman, that is, the supply of every possible facility for his moving from place to place in search

of work; and under this head she condemns in strong terms all movements which encourage him to become an owner of a house or real estate, as this mode of investing his savings naturally ties him down to one place. But then the workingman cannot be mobilized very much under the best of circumstances, unless you also mobilize his family, and the "mobilization" of a wife and children involves great expense and trouble. Upon reading her statement of its difficulties, we felt that she was face to face with an insurmountable obstacle, but we were mistaken. Here she takes her great "leap ahead," and leaves Ben Butler, Ben Wade, and the whole fraternity of our social explorers literally, in the language of the turf, nowhere. Her mode of mobilizing the family is to abolish the family. Woman, she says, needs and must always have a permanent abode. She cannot rove, as man can and must do; therefore let her be no longer tied to any man in particular, or any man to her.

"We must then," she says, "mobilize the family, destroy its indissolubility. This is the only way of saving it from shipwreck; it is only in reforming courageously that we can prevent its falling into complete desuetude." So she proposes that the marriage-contract should be dissolved on the simple request of either of the parties, and that there should be instituted a kind of marriage corresponding to the *confarreatio* of the Romans, sufficient to legitimize the woman's position and the birth of her children, but not binding on her or her husband longer than he or she pleases. The woman being the more permanent person, Madame Royer proposes that she, and not the father, should give her name to the children and be the legal head of the family, the father being relegated to a secondary position, and constituting in domestic life a kind of shadowy auxiliary, of no moral influence or weight, and not necessarily known to his children; and the mother taking as many husbands in succession as her fancy or circumstances suggested; the result being, we need hardly say, perfect happiness, purity, and freedom for all concerned, and an end, total and complete, to the quarrellings, falsehood, and oppression of the present system. The scheme is worked out with much ability, and its bearings on property and other social arrangements are fairly considered.

The editor of the *Journal* half apologizes for inserting this portion of the article, which he styles "passablement excentrique;" but he justifies himself on the ground that his readers are "philosophers" to whom "the most delicate combinations" may be submitted with safety. We commend it to the careful consideration of our American reformers. Many of them will naturally peruse it with mortification, for there is no denying that Madame Royer is at present far in advance of them all. The most fearless of them has never proposed to make the mother the head of the family, giving her name to the children, and consigning the father to a nomad existence in which his domestic relations would bear the closest possible resemblance to those of the domestic animals, and through which indeed the condition of the whole human race would have made one step toward the freedom and exemption from degrading conventional bonds and restrictions now enjoyed by the brute creation.

#### ENGLAND.

LONDON, April 2, 1869.

You will have heard long before this that the second reading of the Irish Church Bill has been carried by a majority of 118. The number is probably sufficient to insure that the bill will pass the House of Lords, and that the efforts of its opponents will be limited in future to the attempt to save as much as possible out of the fire. Resistance to the principle is henceforth hopeless; but a good deal may be done in the way of altering details. I will only add that one consideration must not be forgotten in considering this subject. The Conservative party has many reasons to be anxious for a settlement; so long as the question remains open, the Liberal party have a definite bond of union; when it is closed there is strong probability that there may be a schism in the ranks of the majority. So acute a leader as Mr. Disraeli has his eyes perfectly open to this fact; and though hot-headed Tories of the old school, represented by Mr. Gathorne Hardy and his like, will be for fighting "to the bitter end," the cooler headed section of the party would be only too glad of any conclusion. Victory is hopeless, and they will be content with a safe retreat to some position in which their chances of fighting to some purpose may be very different. For this reason, I feel little doubt that the House of Peers will be induced to consent to mangling the measure as far as they dare, without directly opposing it.

I will now turn to a question which I noticed in my last letter, and the practical importance of which to the future of this country is probably far greater than that of the Irish Establishment. The Commission which has for two years been receiving evidence as to the working of trades-unions

has at length published its report. Any one who desires to understand the present position and prospects of the English artisan will find materials of the highest interest in the ten folio volumes (they are very thin volumes) of evidence published by the Commission during the course of its labors. Nowhere, I may say in passing, is more interesting information to be found on a vast variety of subjects than in the mass of blue-books annually published by Parliament and generally thrown aside as waste paper. Any one who will dip into them will find a quantity of original evidence which it would be hard to discover elsewhere, and this series is specially suggestive on many matters. The main results of the investigation may be stated very shortly as follows. In the first place, trades-unions, though subject to various legislative disadvantages, have spread hitherto, and are still continuing to spread, in a most remarkable degree. To mention no other example, the Society of Engineers, which has branches all over England, in our colonies, and in the United States, has increased in ten years from 15,000 to 33,000 members. In the same time its expenditure has amounted to nearly half a million of pounds sterling; and it is so powerful as to be able to fight almost any combination that can be brought against it. The total number of unionists in the country, although there are many discordant calculations, has been put by one observer as high as 860,000. The organization of these great societies is remarkably complete and perfect, and the scale on which their operations are conducted is equal to that of a first-class commercial enterprise.

In the next place, a large number of the functions which they discharge are admitted to be really useful. They act, to a large extent, as friendly societies; they support members out of work; they have sick funds, besides what are called "accident" funds and burial funds. Some of them maintain also reading rooms, libraries, and give charitable subscriptions. The great society which I have just mentioned spent only about six per cent. of its whole revenues upon disputes, and the remainder in benefits. It is said that the tendency of these large societies is, on the whole, to make strikes less frequent than before, as they produce an increased sense of order and subordination. The richer unions, again, do a useful work in distributing labor; they keep elaborate reports of the state of trade in different districts throughout the country, and transfer workmen to the places where their labor is wanted. On the other hand, it was proved beyond dispute that they sanction many objectionable and tyrannical practices. The number of actual outrages—such as those which have made the name of Sheffield infamous—seems to be diminishing; yet it is true that in Sheffield and Manchester there has been an atrocious system of organized crime which is a disgrace to the country. Blowing men up with gunpowder, maiming them seriously, and stealing their tools have been frequent occurrences. Besides these practices, which are happily confined to a narrow district and which appear to be dying out, there are others of a more outrageous kind. The general imputation upon the trades-unions is that they endeavor not merely to raise the rate of wages, but to level them; to bring down the best workman to the level of the worst. Thus they object very frequently, though not invariably, to piece-work; in one notorious case they maintain a rule against what is called "chasing," that is, they will not allow a man, however able he may be, to do more than a given quantity of work in a day. They fall in with the spirit of that ancient device of the monkeys, who would not talk, for fear they should be made to work; and restrain the energy of their best men lest their performances should be made into a precedent for all. There are many other modifications of the same general principle, which have been sufficiently denounced in the papers of the day; as, for example, the extreme jealousy of each class of artisans to allow any part of its work to be done by a rival class, even when extreme inconvenience is produced in consequence; the limits put upon the number of apprentices allowed to be employed; the resistance to machinery, which is happily becoming rare, and various other practices of which it is at least the *prima-facie* tendency to restrict production by restricting the freedom of labor.

The farther question as to how far the trade of the country has actually suffered from these societies appears to be a very difficult one; and after all that has been said as to the driving away of trade from our own manufacturing districts, it is at least possible to attribute the result, so far as it has taken place, to other causes. The iron trade, which is generally quoted, has steadily increased, in spite of the fact that German and Belgian competition has certainly become far more dangerous than formerly. Upon this very important matter the Commissioners do not express any distinct opinion.

The real question, so far as legislation is concerned, is of a very narrow kind. Till the present time, the law has been rather vague. It has on the whole been directed against combinations of workmen, and combina-



tions leading to a strike are now illegal, unless for the purpose of raising wages or reducing the hours of labor. The workmen may not, for example, combine against a shop rule or against the employment of a particular foreman. Moreover, they may not employ "intimidation, molestation, or obstruction." Workmen have been punished for shouting "baa-baa" after a man or telling him that he is a black sheep; for giving an employer notice that his workmen will strike unless he dismisses particular workmen; or for telling a workman that if he goes to work "there will be a row." Moreover, the law will not protect the funds of any association which uses them "in restraint of trade." Thus, if an association forbade its members to work in a factory which was unhealthy its treasurer might carry off its funds with perfect impunity. As a fact, it has been held that the rules of some of the largest associations operate "in restraint of trade," and therefore they are unable to recover their property in case of embezzlement. The law is very hazy and difficult to interpret distinctly; but, as a rule, trades-unions are unlawful societies, incapable of public recognition or registration, and without any legal title to their funds.

Now it is plain that the result of thus placing them outside the law has by no means been to discourage them; on the contrary, they have increased and flourished in spite of all disqualifications. Indeed, the absence of legal protection has intensified the evils; it has led them to resort to those irregular modes of enforcing their authority which are the natural resource of secret societies. Being unable to bring an action at law, they have taken to gunpowder, or at least to bullying of various degrees of intensity. They are so powerful that it would be perfectly idle to attempt to suppress them, even if it were now possible; any such attempt would, in fact, be far more likely to produce a revolution than to secure its object. Legislation against trades-unions would be equivalent to giving six months' warning to the British constitution. There are, in fact, only two courses open to the practical legislator. One is that which is accepted by the majority of the Commission. They would give legal protection to societies which did not admit certain objectionable practices into their rules. Those which favored the restriction of the number of apprentices, the limitation of the use of machinery, the prevention of piecework, or the support of other unions in strikes, would still be illegal. The minority say that as these rules are, at worst, foolish, the unions which adopt them should be protected against fraud and crime like other societies. The state is not to interfere in order to make men moral or wise after its own fashion; and if the unions choose to act foolishly they must be punished like other foolish persons by taking the consequences of their actions. To this the stronger argument may be added that as unions formed to secure these purposes exist in spite of the law, and will not give them up for any good which the law can offer them, the legislation would be simply useless. The unions exist, and are going to exist, whether we like it or not, and if they attain objects which are not criminal without the use of criminal means, there is no reason for exposing them to exceptional legislation. One proposal is to repeal the power which the magistrates at present enjoy of inflicting summary punishment for molestation and obstruction. This, in the view of the minority, is an exceptional legislation, and therefore unfair to the trades-unions. The justice of this is, perhaps, doubtful; but it is certain that the law is at present in a vague and unsatisfactory state, and allows certain actions to be punished at the discretion of a magistrate, which do not seem to go beyond a fair action which is open to employers as well as artisans. If the workmen publish intimidatory lists of those who work in disobedience to their orders, the employers equally combine to keep out of employment all who have been concerned in a strike; and the employers, as being a smaller body, have greater facilities for combination than their men. In short, as trades-unionism for good or for evil is an established and a growing fact, which has made head against all previous attempts at legislation, it is better to allow it protection, unless in distinctly criminal actions, which can be reached by the ordinary laws of the country. This is the main conclusion, and it is one which shows what great power is already exerted by those bodies, for if the employers had any prospect of success in a direct attack no one can doubt that they have the will to undertake it. The strict political economists in the Commission were thoroughly hostile to trades-unionism, but even they were compelled to propose a relaxation in the laws by which it is at present hampered. Perhaps the most remarkable evidence given was that of Mr. Mundella, the gentleman who has turned out Mr. Roebuck, for Sheffield, who gave an account of the remarkable success of the boards of arbitration lately instituted at Nottingham. The masters have there met the leading members of the unions, and all questions interesting both parties have been fully discussed. By a quaint regulation the board of arbitrators decided that as carrying a question by majorities generally

produced some jealousy, they would always agree unanimously. Since 1860 they have succeeded in doing so, and every difficulty that has arisen has been satisfactorily solved without strikes or locks-out. This suggests one mode in which the unions, if sensibly managed, may ultimately work for the conciliation of masters and men. The plan has been followed with success in many trades, and some efforts are now being made to settle the dispute between masters and men at Preston, where a great strike in the cotton factories has just commenced, by the adoption of some such scheme. Amongst many less pleasant symptoms this is, I hope, a proof that we are beginning to look at such disputes from a rather more reasonable point of view; that trades-unions are better managed, less violent, and less stupid than in their infancy, and that the upper classes do not look upon them with simple and unqualified aversion.

## Correspondence.

### "THE WAR AGAINST ALCOHOL."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A constant reader of your journal, I notice in your issue of the first instant an article headed "The War against Alcohol," which states that after forty years of temperance agitation "the end seems almost as far off as ever;" that "every year it turns out that the conclusions reached during the year before are not satisfactory to all concerned, and accordingly every year sees some new scheme foisted upon the statute-book;" which charges advocates of temperance with having "brought the subject out of the moral into the political arena," and with general inconsistency in their aims and doings, and represents them as fanatics more devoted to the scheme of prohibition than to the cause of temperance itself—as those who "appear to believe that the next best thing to a prohibitory law which is enforced, is a prohibitory law which is a dead letter."

Such statements as to the movements and aims of, and of the results attained by, the friends of a cause so auspicious and so highly accredited in popular esteem, are well calculated to excite surprise, and should not be expected to pass without remark.

The friends of temperance insist that much has been accomplished by the agitation referred to. The early "so-called friends of temperance" had a great and unwelcome truth to present to mankind, namely, that the use of ardent spirits as a beverage, then almost universal, was hurtful to both body and mind. Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, in 1804, first awakened enquiry upon this fundamental point, by the publication of a tract entitled, "Enquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Body and Mind." He maintained that it had a positively injurious effect upon both to persons in health. The remedy which the demonstration suggested, and which the extent of the evil clearly demanded, was total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks as a beverage. This the pioneers in the temperance reform inculcated and sought to enforce as a clear moral and Christian duty. From the beginning, the American mind and conscience were in a state of unbelief and insensibility as to the real character of alcohol, and its effects upon the human system and on society. The "so-called friends of temperance" did, however, succeed in establishing in the public heart and conscience a right credence upon these points, against all disbelief, all odds, all opposition, prejudice, and interests. To this historic fact our worthy President, in accord with his predecessors, bears willing testimony: "Being satisfied from observation and experience, as well as from medical testimony, that ardent spirits, as a drink, are not only needless but hurtful, and that the entire disuse of it would tend to promote the health, the virtue, and the happiness of the community, we hereby express our conviction that should the citizens of the United States, and especially the young men, discontinue entirely the use of it, they would not only promote their own personal benefit, but the good of our country and the world."

The history of the movement, on its every page, attests the truth of this general statement. This may well be claimed as an achievement of no doubtful import, kindred in its effect to the anti-slavery reform in England, which, having convinced the English mind of the inherent wickedness of slavery, prepared the way for emancipation which followed. The friends of temperance and prohibition may well take courage. A great advance has been made. The intellect of the nation yields its assent to the proposition that ardent spirits as a drink are hurtful: the popular conscience declares abstinence to be a high moral duty. These are the harbingers of better days; and the end, it may be hoped, is not "almost as far off as in the beginning."

It may be conceded that the pioneers in this movement approached the subject with caution. The preacher of temperance of the early time was

denounced as meddling with that which did not belong to him; and true it doubtless is, that, conscious of the magnitude and power of the evil to be encountered, the whole truth was not at once, and boldly, declared.

First was the "conclusion" that ardent spirits, as a drink, were hurtful; then disapprobation of the custom of drinking; then pledge of abstinence from ardent spirits; then total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. If these show hesitation, as doubtless they do, it is submitted that it was a hesitation not unnatural, when the novelty of the movement, and the unfriendly, nay intolerant, character of the times are considered. It exhibits no conclusions reached and abandoned, but rather other stages of the same movement in advance reached in succeeding years.

Having attained the high vantage-ground of a popular judgment against ardent spirits as a beverage, and in favor of abstinence as a moral and Christian duty, the friends of temperance claimed the legislative interposition to inhibit the traffic for such use, as pernicious to the public health and morals, and as prolific in pauperism and crime. Surely it may not be contended that this "brought the subject out of the moral into the political arena." Was it ever supposed that the friends of moral and social reform were liable to the charge of having abandoned their cause by an appeal to the legislative authority to prohibit practices acknowledged to affect injuriously the public well-being? It is not easy to concede this implied isolation of politics from morality. They are deemed to be quite inseparable. Morality teaches the rules which *should* govern the relations of men. It is the office of politics to develop and prescribe the laws by which human action shall be determined, so far as men interfere with each other. It would seem, therefore, that whatever morality reprobates it may properly invoke legislation to inhibit, without abandoning its legitimate province.

In defining the position of the friends of temperance a misapprehension of fact is apparent. "Drinking must be prohibited by law," it is said. When, or where, or by whom was it declared that "drinking must be prohibited by law"? It may be questioned whether any such resolution was ever adopted, declaration made, or "conclusion" reached, by any body of temperance men, or that any such "legislation was ever determined upon," or invoked, under the direction, influence, or lead of the friends of temperance anywhere. Laws against *drunkenness* exist in most, probably all, of the States; but these laws are not chargeable to the temperance movement. The friends of temperance aim to prohibit the *traffic* in intoxicating drinks as a beverage. They hold that all experience shows that the fruits of such traffic are drunkenness, ignorance, brutality, waste, pauperism, crime, impaired health, shattered intellect, premature decay, and untimely death, constituting at once a gigantic moral, social, and political evil, and they do not doubt the authority of the civil power to declare that such traffic ought wholly to cease. Nor is prohibition, thus considered, a novelty in American legislation. The traffic has always been prohibited by and to certain persons. It was open only to the "respectable," according to the formula of "license," excluding minors, idiots, and Indians, as ineligible to the privileges of drinking. With increasing intelligence and the lights of experience and observation, it has come to be seen that not even the "respectable" may properly be privileged to enjoy a traffic to the public detriment, and that as to the vending of a deleterious article the law has no exception of age, or capacity, or condition—its protecting shield is over all alike.

L. M. M.

AUGUSTA, MAINE, April 14.

[Against the temperance agitation, in so far as it consisted or consists in moral suasion, we have said nothing and have nothing to say, as long as it is conducted with a proper respect for individual liberty of thought and action. We must remind "L. M. M." that though much has been "maintained" as to the injurious effects of moderate quantities of alcohol on the human system, nothing has been "demonstrated," and it is to the confusion which exists in the minds of most temperance advocates as to the meaning of these two terms that most of the hostility to the temperance agitation is due. Every man is bound, doubtless, to abstain from any article of food or drink which is injurious to his mind or body, but the test must be supplied by his own understanding and not by that of some other man; that is, he must be convinced either by experiment or argument. Moreover, the question how far I, who can take alcohol in moderate quantities, am morally bound to refrain from it altogether because other men take it in immoderate quantities, is a very knotty question, which a great many platform orators think they have answered; but then the greater portion

of the civilized world, and of the most enlightened men in it, are not satisfied with their answer. From "L. M. M.'s" deduction "that whatever morality reprobates it may properly invoke legislation to prohibit, without abandoning its legitimate province," we dissent *in toto*. To agree with him, we should have to discard nearly every one of our notions as to the province of jurisprudence, and our reasons for declining to do this are too numerous to be given here. The experiment of making law and morality convertible terms has been frequently tried, and with the most disastrous results, both to the one and the other. We have not a word to say against prohibitory legislation, *if it can be enforced*; what we condemn is the almost childish delight which some reformers take in embodying their ideas in legislative acts, which nobody or only very few obey, and which the majority laugh at. The civil power, doubtless, has "the right to declare that the liquor traffic ought wholly to cease;" but it has also the right to declare that all knaves and evil-disposed persons ought to betake themselves to some honest calling, and live by it. Anybody who enjoys calling on the civil power to make such declarations, is welcome to do so, but he must not insist on our believing that he is making a good use of his time. The distinction between prohibition of the traffic in liquor and the prohibition of drinking, is of course a distinction without a difference. It is not to the traffic temperance men object. As an article of commerce alcohol is not half as dangerous as oil of vitriol. To prevent the drinking is, of course, what they really aim at, as indeed "L. M. M." admits.—ED. NATION.]

A LETTER-WRITER to the editor of the *Nation*, signing himself "Citizen"—a Republican to whom the party has owed a good deal—made the following remarks, in our issue of March 18, speaking of Grant's appointments:

"SIR: Your article upon the Cabinet this week hints in very mild language that which, for General Grant's own good and for the interests of the country, needs to be plainly stated. The President has made a great mistake, and is following it up with a series of mistakes, which, if persisted in, will involve him in difficulties and disasters.

"Neither Grant nor any other man knows enough to manage this Government without advice. It was very well for Grant to keep out of the ordinary struggle for Cabinet places; but the total failure of his first arrangement has shown that he needed the counsel of a few well-chosen persons upon that subject.

"The mistake about Mr. Stewart's appointment is only one error among more serious ones. The nomination of Mr. Stewart the day after he had presented General Grant with a check for \$65,000, for a house given to him by a number of gentlemen, of whom Mr. Stewart was one, was very *mal apropos*. The appointment of Mr. Borie, who subscribed to the purchase of a house for General Grant in Philadelphia, is open to similar comment. The appointment of Mr. Washburne to the State Department was a compliment that could only have made him ridiculous, if he had not been sensible enough to ask for a change which, while it put him in a place for which he is marvellously ill-fitted, will not make him so conspicuously absurd as he would be in the State Department.

"What we have thus far seen of the disposition of minor offices is not encouraging. General Grant's avowed determination to bestow a number of valuable offices upon his personal friends is not wise or just, and will necessitate compromises with other men having personal friends, and power to support them, in which the public interest will suffer. And it is with some curiosity that I ask whether Mr. Montgomery Gibbs is one of Grant's personal friends; for I see him among the early favorites for a fat office. Binckley was a poor specimen of Presidential favorites, but Gibbs will make the memory of Binckley honorable. Indeed, I do that honest, though very incapable, gentleman sore injustice in putting his name and Gibbs's together."

On this, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, talking of political corruption in America, based the following singular bit of misrepresentation:

"But still more striking circumstances are stated affecting General Grant himself. They are told, not by an enemy, but by a Republican, in the columns of the *New York Nation*. He says that the President nominated Mr. Stewart to an appointment 'the day after he had presented General Grant with a check for \$65,000, for a house given to him by a number of gentlemen, of whom Mr. Stewart was one.' Another of his nominees, Mr. Borie, subscribed for the purchase of a horse for General Grant in Philadelphia. 'General Grant's avowed determination,' says the writer, 'to bestow a number of valuable offices upon his personal friends is not wise or just.' He mentions one or two other instances. This is not corruption on the part of the President, but it is very remarkable indiscretion."

This is bad enough, inasmuch as it leaves the impression on the mind that the *Nation* had made a charge of corruption against General Grant; but now comes the London correspondent of the *New York*



*Tribune*, and, with characteristic unscrupulousness, makes the following comments on it, the dishonesty of his performances being about equally great whether he had or had not seen the letter in the *Nation*—though most probably he had not seen it:

"It may interest you to see what kind of ammunition is furnished to enemies of America by the New York *Nation*, and what use they make of it. The following is from to-day's *Pall Mall Gazette*, which, after charging bribery upon Governor Fenton, says [as above quoted from the *Gazette*]: 'The malicious ingenuity with which facts, in themselves innocent, are wrought into an accusation against President Grant, could not easily be surpassed. The indecency and untruthfulness of the libel may fairly, perhaps, be divided between the two guilty journals.'

## Notes.

### LITERARY.

THE late Mr. Calvin Blanchard—who for years made his name notorious in many parts of the country by means of an advertisement, in which he offered to send through the mail postpaid, on receipt of price, such works as respectable booksellers do not ordinarily urge on their customers—left behind him at the time of his death the manuscript of a work which his widow, Mrs. Anne Eliza Edwards Blanchard, has revised and condensed, and which will soon be published. It has a title as formidable as that of the great work mentioned by us the other day, which Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews and his friends have in preparation. It is as follows: "The True Principles of Positive Sociology; An Announcement of the Religion of Society; and an Exposition of the Statics and Dynamics of Humanity, being the Religio-Political Physics: Or, an Answer to the Great Question: If you take away my Religion and Politics, what will you give me in their stead?" This seems as successful a combination of two fashions of titles—an old one and a modern one—as our English bibliography has to show. Once a title-page was a *résumé* of the contents of the book, and to be "learned in title-pages" was, after all, to have some considerable learning. At any rate our great-great-grandfathers could, by turning over books, acquire that sort of learning—a knowledge, namely, of where to go for a completer knowledge—for the sake of which Dr. Johnson once recommended the perusal of the mere backs of books on shelves. Now, the way of many book-makers is to make the titles of their works undecipherable, and even enigmatic. Mr. Hale's "If, Yes, and Perhaps," serves as an example. The method of being full and unintelligible at the same time is not often so well exemplified as by Mr. Blanchard's name for his posthumous offspring. Mrs. Blanchard we presume it is who writes the life of the author, and the "review of his writings and career," which are to be prefixed to the "True Principles." It would be a mistake, we may remark, to look upon Mr. Blanchard as simply a purveyor to the general public of such literature as it would be better the general reader should let alone. He was not a wise man; in fact, he had the habits of mind of a reformer of the long-haired type, who has become almost crazily in love with his own mental vagaries; but the selling of corrupting books was not his end, but a means—a way he took of getting his peculiar philosophic and sociological ideas before the world; the obscenity was the bait, and the hook, as he fondly hoped, was the treatise on greenbacks, or marriage, or war, or what not, which it was his custom to append to the works which he chose for publication. It is probable that he, too, would have regarded it as unfortunate that, practically, his labors served the cause of immorality. But it is likely that he never perceived that.—Messrs. A. S. Barnes & Co. announce "Hymns of the Church, with Tunes," selected and arranged by a Committee of the Reformed Church.—The Catholic Publication Society have in press Mr. J. Spencer Northcote's translation of De Rossi's "Roma Sotteranea."—Mr. G. W. Carleton adds to his library of American humorous literature a volume which has recently appeared in England, containing "Artemus Ward's Lectures." Whether all the lectures are given, or only a part of them, we are not informed, but in any case there is a large public ready for the volume, for it will be wanted by those who heard the lectures delivered, and by those who have known the lecturer only in print.—Mr. M. W. Dodd announces a new edition, in one volume, of "The History and Depositary of Pulpit Eloquence," by the Rev. Dr. Henry C. Fish.—Messrs. J. B. Ford & Co. have made into an octavo volume the series of phonographically reported sermons, by Mr. Beecher, which they have been publishing for the last few months, and which they will continue to publish.—Mr. George A. Leavitt announces "New Annuals for 1869 and 1870," by Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Stoddard; a "Life and Campaigns of General U. S. Grant," and "An Account of his Election and Inauguration, etc.," by Mr. P. C. Headley, a writer

of the J. S. C. Abbott school, who once was better known than now, though he may still be in favor with that public, very profitable but more obscure nowadays than formerly, which gets its reading matter from "book agents."—A second and enlarged edition of an admirable book, Dr. George Derby's "Anthracite and Health," is announced by Messrs. A. Williams & Co.

—Of the books just published, or just announced as forthcoming, in England, a good many are of interest and value. Poetry offers us but little that is new or good; still, we have "Child World," by the authors of "Poems Written for a Child;" and, as the *Telegraph* says, "the grown-up person who does not fall into raptures" on reading the works of the two authors in question "must have led a strange life," or else he must be destitute of tenderness and, what is nearly as bad, "all sense of metrical sunshine must have been omitted from his composition." Seriously, however, "Child World" is highly to be praised, so far as we can judge by its predecessor and by extracts that we have seen, as being really poetical, and as being pleasant reading for adults, whatever it may be to children. Mr. George Augustus Simcox, a writer worthy of attention, has written a new volume called "Poems and Romances." Schiller's "Song of the Bell," which possesses so intelligible an attraction for the tribe of translators, finds still another translator in Mr. J. H. Merivale. Mr. Edgington's "Odyssey" meets with a cool welcome from the critics, and apparently deserves nothing better. In accordance with a theory which he holds, that in times of primitive antiquity men used unpictorial, unadorned language, Mr. Edgington employs a diction which may be called simple to baldness, and which makes one of his assailants say, that if it is by the lack of adornment that we are to judge of the antiquity of poetical works, then Mr. Edgington is "more ancient than Homer—or than Lord Derby, which would be saying something more." That Mr. Edgington's remarkable theory was made to fit the dimensions of his own rather than Homer's vocabulary, even a reader who had no views on the general question might be inclined to suspect when, to give a single example for many, *ἐπιπλεον* he finds to be rendered "well-built oar." Why he should not say "steam-refined oar" or "hemstitched oar," instead of "well-built," Mr. Edgington could probably give a reason altogether satisfactory to himself. An English *Odyssey* that is doubtless a good deal worse than Mr. Edgington's is "A Nearly Literal Translation of Homer's *Odyssey* into Accented Dramatic Verse," by the Rev. Mr. Lovelace Bigge-Wither. Mr. Bigge-Wither has done the whole of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" into English since the appearance of Lord Derby's "Iliad," in 1865! But his "accentuated dramatic verse" is not a particularly hard vehicle to manage. A man might be able to do in a day a great many lines such as these:

"He's gone out-of-sight—out-of-mind! and-to-me hath left  
Woes-only-and-tears: nor only him I weep for  
Now."

The words connected by hyphens are to be read, the translator says, as one foot, with the emphasis on the last syllable.—A new poem with what seems an oddly self-contradictory title, "Oswald the Hermit: a Domestic Drama," is by an anonymous author. We may mention under the head of poetry the fact that Mr. Charles G. Leland's Hans Breitmann's ballads having become popular enough in England to have gone through six or seven editions, are now the subject of an unseemly quarrel between Messrs. Trübner & Co. and Mr. John Camden Hotten, who has laid unauthorized hands upon them and gets out editions that will seriously diminish the author's profits. Mr. Hotten gives with the ballads "editorial and illustrative notes," but Messrs. Trübner & Co. are, it is said, soon to have the advantage of Mr. Leland's own supervision of their editions, and, moreover, they are able to offer to their customers certain pieces which Mr. Hotten cannot offer to his without an infraction of the English law of copyright. Whatever may be Mr. Leland's right to complain of the treatment to which Mr. Hotten has subjected him, the rest of us Americans should remember the continual robberies that may be charged against us, and that it is our own fault if we have not international copyright laws.

—Of new theological works recently published in England the one most likely to be interesting to our cisatlantic religious world is Mr. James Martineau's "New Affinities of Faith," a little pamphlet which is described as "a plea for general Christian union." Cobbett's "Legacy to Parsons" is now thirty or forty years old, but its republication under the editorship of the present William Cobbett is timely, the disestablishment of the Church of England in Ireland being recognized as the sure forerunner of the total separation of Church and State in all the British Empire. Certainly the case could hardly be more readably presented, if it might be presented more accurately, than in Cobbett's knock-down English. The Reverend J. Spencer Northcote, who is already somewhat known as a

writer on the Catacombs, is preparing a translation of De Rossi's very well known work on the same subject, "Roma Sotterranea." Mr. Northcote's task is not that of mere translation, for he exercises a compiler's discretion as regards the treatment of the text. The work is to be illustrated profusely, and the Chevalier De Rossi is himself superintending the printing of the chromos, which, however, will be less numerous than the woodcuts. The fifth volume of Merle D'Aubigné's "Reformation in the Time of Calvin" is now ready. "Misread Passages in Scripture" is the taking title of a book by Mr. J. Baldwin Browne. A third and enlarged edition is published of the "Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, drawn from the Writings of Saint Augustine." Historical and literary, rather than theological, but well worth the attention of clergymen, whether polemical or not, is a new German work—"Geschichte der Stadt Rom," by Alfred von Reumont. In this last volume the author treats of the "humanism," which developed itself fully in the pontificate of the singularly infallible Leo the Tenth and those of the popes just preceding and following him—the inordinate classicism which reached such an anti-Christian pitch that God is spoken of in the works of some of the devotees of the revived paganism as *dii deique*, and men like Doctor Neale, looking back on those times, and not duly weighing all the considerations, are moved to cry out, as Neale in one place does, "What a dread fulthing, after all, was the mediæval discovery of the classical literature!" or words to that effect. It is not at all in that spirit that von Reumont regards this very interesting period; he rather shows us its features and allows us to judge for ourselves, and shows them so clearly that we have in sufficiency the grounds of judgment. We do a service, we believe, to orthodox clergymen in calling their attention to six essays, by as many different men, on "Congregationalism"—"whether Baptist or Independent." The object of the writers is to describe the Congregational system and the forms of character it has produced, and "to prepare men's minds for a freer development of Christian polity." Apparently it will be worth while to read this book in connection with Mr. Martineau's, above mentioned.

—The English historical and biographical works of the month are not specially attractive, but there are two or three very good ones nevertheless. Mazzini, whatever we may think of him either as a speculative or as a practical politician, is often very happy in the exercise of his usual function of criticising men and things; for, while he holds all sorts of disturbing theories, yet he has the temperament which is apt to confer a greater or less degree of a power that might not improperly be called sympathetic divination. His essay on Carlyle, for example, is an extremely accurate description, spiritual and mental, of that author, and, written some quarter of a century since, it was on its first appearance really a prophecy as well as a portrait. Much of this critical power Mazzini displays in his autobiographic "Life and Writings," the fifth volume of which work is now in press, and the whole of which is worth possessing, if only for the checkered career which it depicts, and for the interest of many of the figures on the canvas. The same thing can hardly be said of the "Count Bismarck," which young Mr. Lewes has just translated. It is, however, a small paper-covered book of about the size of the Tauchnitzes, and, to say no better of it, will be useful to any one who is thinking of getting up padding for the magazines. New editions are in preparation of Mr. John Forster's "Sir John Eliot; a Biography, 1590-1632," and the same author's "History of the Grand Remonstrance in November and December, 1641," with the introductory essay on English freedom in Plantagenet and Tudor times. Rassam's "Narrative of the Mission to King Theodore" has raised the important question—important for the honor of England and Lord Napier of Magdala—whether or not Theodore was attacked by the English army after his lordship's acceptance of his presents had caused the king to think that there was peace, or at the very least that there was truce, between himself and the English. Mr. Rassam's statements are very direct, and are well supported by evidence, and so far as we have seen, the friends of Lord Napier and that officer himself have done little in the way of effectually meeting the charges. We must not forget to mention Mr. William Lee's "Life and Uncollected Writings of Daniel Defoe." Defoe has of late attracted a good deal of very well deserved attention, and it is much to be hoped that Mr. Lee is fit for his task. He has, at any rate, been a diligent and loving student of his remarkable hero. The amended catalogue of Defoe's writings exhibits no less a number than two hundred and fifty-four, for several of which we are secondarily indebted to Mr. Lee's labor and research. Of new English works of fiction and of miscellaneous works, there are not many this month that call for particular notice. Some of our readers would enjoy

the cook-book of Mrs. Tom Hood—the younger—with the preface by Tom Hood. "Tib's Tit-bits" is the title of it and it contains two hundred and thirty-one recipes.

—In speaking two or three weeks ago of the Tauchnitz-Tischendorf New Testament, we might properly have called attention to the late Dr. Geo. R. Noyes's translation, which has been published since the death of that lamented scholar, by the American Unitarian Association. Dr. Noyes chose Tischendorf's texts as his standard, while reserving the right to differ from him in his preferred readings. His aim was to make a translation which, while it should be even closer to the original than the accepted version, should be freed from the obsolete forms of speech preserved in the latter. Where there has been no good reason for change, however, the familiar phraseology has not been disturbed. Dr. Noyes's ability and conscientiousness were both beyond question, and the part which he did not survive to revise in the proofs has received the care of Mr. Ezra Abbot, who also assisted in revising the rest. His accuracy and learning, too, need no guaranty.

—The chief feature of interest in the "Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst" (Vol. IV., No. 6) is the etching of a stormy landscape, by Rembrandt, after the original painting in the Brunswick gallery, never before reproduced. William Bürger, in the text which accompanies this characteristic picture, states some interesting facts in regard to the class to which it belongs. The number of Rembrandt's landscapes is so far from being numerous, that only about thirty are known with certainty, and of these, neither Holland nor Belgium possesses one. England has at least a dozen; Germany ten; Russia—whose galleries are much richer in works of the great masters than is commonly suspected—six; France two, of which one belongs to Mr. Bürger himself, and the other to Prince Czartoryski. With two or three exceptions, these paintings represent no actual scene in nature, but contain a few simple objects to which the painter's genius superadds the contrasts and conflicts of the elements, with his wonderful handling of light and shade. Rembrandt's countryman and contemporary, Peter van Hooge, had the honor, at the late sale of the Delessert gallery, in Paris, to be rated with Raphael, a Dutch interior by the former fetching 150,000 francs, as did the latter's *Virgin and Child*. Teniers' *Fishmonger* brought even more, unless there is an error in the report. The Raphael was bid in by the Duc d'Aumale over the Prince Napoleon, who also coveted it. It now, therefore, returns into the hands of the Orleans family, having been owned in 1792 by Philippe Egalité, who lost it, with other valuable paintings, at billiards to M. de Laborde. In 1799 it fell into English hands at an auction sale, with a valuation of 13,125 francs. In 1843, Delessert purchased it for 27,250. It will now return to England till such time as it is safe for the owner to dwell in France instead of in exile.

—Few persons, probably, could explain the origin of the lily or *fleur-de-lys* which marks the North on the compass of Christian nations. Dr. Breusing, in a learned and exhaustive article (not yet concluded) on Flavio Gioja, in No. 19 of the *Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin*, connects this Bourbon emblem with the invention of the mariner's compass, and thinks it the homage paid by Gioja to the house of Anjou, which then ruled Naples and Amalfi. It is certain that the lily was not in use before the bisection of the right angle in subdividing the compass, and this we owe to the Italians. The Chinese, from whom the magnetic needle was most likely derived, divided the magnetic horizon into twenty-four parts, while the Japanese, the Arabs, and the Greeks agreed in using twelve. To this day Chinese ships use a land compass. In the Middle Ages the East of the compass was distinguished with a cross, which the interest then felt in the East sufficiently explains. The seeming pre-eminence thus given to that quarter was really held by it prior to the discovery of the needle. The ancients determined their hemispheres by day and night, and in reckoning the points of the compass they began with the East; as, when Homer (Od. v. 295) enumerates the winds, he mentions Eurus first and Boreas last, and a south-east wind with him was viewed as an east-south one. Eginhard, in the time of Charlemagne, did the same, though not for the same reason. The winds were the cause of the division of the horizon into more than two parts, such as the course of the sun would have suggested. The Temple of the Winds, at Athens, was an eight-sided building, of which the sides and not the angles answered to the directions from the centre outwards. That is to say, the ancients divided their horizon by arcs of thirty degrees instead of points, as is the modern fashion. The German sailors of the present day use both divisions. The ship heads East or West (*Ost, West*—one syllable); the sun rises, Russia lies, in the East (*im Osten*—two syllables)—a distinction which they carefully preserve but land poets neglect. The Italians, as we have said, bisected the right angle to make



eight points, and again the angles thus obtained, and so on. The points were connected with the centre by rhombs, thus making a figure which was called a *rosa ventorum*, or wind-rose, for which the English have no name whatever. The Germans call it *Strichrose*, or point-rose. It is claimed for Gioja that he fastened the needle to the under side of the wind-rose card, and thus made the compass practicable at sea; and it is possible that he also contrived the "gimbals," or swinging attachment of the present ship's compass. Two fine maps accompany this number of the *Zeitschrift*, one showing the progress of the line of the Po Delta, the other the actual condition of the Danube Delta from below Galatz, of which, and of the attempts on the Sulina branch to assure the navigation of the great river, the editor treats in a separate article.

—Secondary education for woman has found a hearty, sympathetic patron in the Crown Princess of Prussia, who attended on the 14th of January the formal opening of the so-called Victoria Lyceum in Berlin. This institution is the result of the labors of a Scotch lady, Miss Archer, assisted by such liberal minded men as Prof. Dr. von Holtzendorff and Prof. Bonitz—the latter, as one of the Curatorium, delivering the address at the opening referred to. The plan of this college is to afford regular courses of lectures, widely different from those "popular" ones to which alone women have heretofore had access. They will embrace history, geography, literature, art, philosophy, physiology, the natural and physical sciences, but not at present the professional branches. The term now in progress is to have four courses: modern history, German literature, French literature, and the history of art; the October term, four additional: English literature, music, botany, physics. A novel feature will be the use of the language of each country in describing its literature. Instruction in art will be combined with visits to the admirably arranged museums of the city, by special permission obtained through the Crown Princess. Music will be taught in connection with its history, and the scientific exposition of the musical thoughts which distinguish the sonata, the symphony, etc., will be practically illustrated, we are told, on the piano. This peculiar instruction will be undertaken by Dr. Ehrlich, an exquisite performer and a highly intellectual man. The management will consist of a very select company of nine ladies and gentlemen, of rank, learning, and wealth, one or more of whom will be present at every lecture. The college year is from October to April, inclusive (divided into two unequal terms of three and four months each), with the view of accommodating the probably numerous attendance from the provinces. The students will be encouraged to submit to an examination, though this will not be compulsory. Female lecturers will be admitted. Already two hundred and forty students, full of zeal and cheerfulness, have more than provided for the expenses of the first term, and shown, besides, the need which the Lyceum will meet and, it is to be hoped, satisfy.

#### MAX MÜLLER'S "CHIPS"\*

MR. SCRIBNER has done a good service in adding Professor Max Müller's "Chips" to his valuable series of philological publications; for mere "chips" though they be, fragmentary essays like these contain much of the most vital discussion of the day. In a science that is in process of development, like comparative philology and mythology, there must necessarily be some crudeness and much repetition in the occasional essays published from time to time; the essays before us, however, even with some repetitions, contain little that we should be willing to lose.

Nearly one half of the second volume is taken up with that earlier essay upon Comparative Mythology (1856), the substance of which is repeated in Professor Müller's second course of lectures, and which, if we are not mistaken, first called attention to the fact that comparative mythology is a science. The essay indeed, although so much earlier, contains nearly all that is material upon this subject in the lectures; less elaborate in the details, but even more suggestive and eloquent in the statement of principles. Several of the other essays treat of the same subject, and nearly all in this volume touch upon it more or less distinctly; so that here we have his latest and most matured views—the latest of all being a review of Cox's *Mythology* (1867), noticed some months ago in these columns. In this latest essay, the same principle is laid down (p. 159) with which the earliest essay closes: "that mythology is simply a phase, and an inevitable phase in the growth of language; language being taken in its proper sense, not as the mere outward symbol, but as the only possible embodiment of thought." "The origin of mythological phraseology,

whatever outward aspects it may assume, is always the same; it is language forgetting itself." It is hard to exaggerate the importance of this principle, which, as the author points out, was recognized also by K. O. Müller; but we think it has been somewhat exaggerated in these essays, and that Professor Müller overlooks, or rather denies, an equally essential element of mythology. He says (p. 162): "The mistake most commonly committed is to suppose that mythology has necessarily a religious character. . . . Religion, no doubt, suffered most from mythological phraseology, but it did not suffer alone." Here we fail to see what is gained by discarding old definitions. Mythology, as commonly understood, certainly implies a religious basis. It is true, the primary meaning of the word has relation to expression of thought rather than to the thought or sentiment itself; we have to do, however, with the mass of beliefs and traditions which actually pass by the name *mythology*, and in these it is undeniable that religion is an essential part. Even if, in nine cases out of ten, the explanation of myths is found in the meaning of words, there yet remain cases, as Professor Müller admits (p. 169), in which the etymological test fails. But the other element, the religious, is never absent. If now we throw aside this accepted definition, and make mythology to be identical with the poetry inherent in words, as he seems to do, we shall after all only have transferred a term from one set of ideas to another, and shall be driven to search for another term to attach to the old idea. Of course that stage in language which he calls the mythological is of the first importance in the history of language, and was indispensable to the formation of mythology—of much, too, which is not mythology. The recognition and illustration of this stage, and of its bearing on the development of myths, is one of the author's great services to scholarship and thought; but it will not explain everything that we call mythology.

It appears to us, therefore, that Professor Müller nowhere shows sufficient appreciation of the part which the religious sense must have had in the creation of mythology—nowhere recognizes that earnest faith in the dæmonic powers of nature which lay at the bottom of the ancient polytheism. Even in the fine passage in the first essay, in which he treats of the personification of abstract nouns and the powers of nature, it seems to us that he inverts the true process, and looks to language for an explanation, rather than to the instructive beliefs of the human mind. "In ancient languages," he says, p. 55, "every one of these words had necessarily a termination expressive of gender, and this naturally produced in the mind the corresponding idea of sex." But where did they get their "termination expressive of gender?" Was it not from the incapacity of the human mind at that stage to conceive of action or mere existence, except in living beings? The life which inspired all the powers and objects of nature, the unseen beings which dwelt in them, were the spirits or "dæmons" which human reverence developed into gods. These were the powers that were loved or feared, propitiated and worshipped.

It is true that "the stories of the Argonauts, or of the Trojan war, or of the Caledonian boar-hunt had very little to do with religion, except that some of the heroes engaged in these were called either the sons or the favorites of some of the so-called gods of Greece" (p. 162). Even these were as much religion as the exploits of Samson or the slaying of Goliath by David. But the concession made in the sentence just quoted is enough. If they had ever so little of religion, they possessed an essential element of mythology. Agamemnon and Jason and Atalanta were not gods, but they were descended from gods; the legends which told of them were on one side purely human, but on the other they touched that unseen world which lay all about the Greek, and inspired him with earnest sentiments of religious faith.

In regard to comparative mythology, the volume before us contains, as we have said, little in substance which we did not already possess in the lectures on language and in Mr. Cox's little manual. A great part of the volume, however, is devoted to bringing forward a new phase of the investigations which have grown out of comparative philology. "As the science of language," he says, p. 195, "has supplied a new basis for the science of mythology, the science of mythology bids fair, in its turn, to open the way to a new and scientific study of the folk-lore of the Aryan nations. Not only have the radical and formal elements of language been proved to be the same in India, Greece, Italy, among the Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic nations; not only have the names of many of their gods, the forms of their worship, and the mainspring of their religious sentiment been traced back to one common Aryan source; but a further advance has been made. A myth, it was argued, dwindles down to a legend, a legend to the tale; and if the myths were originally identical in India, Greece, Italy, Germany, why should not the tales also of these countries show some similarity, even in the songs of the Indian ayah and the English

\* "Chips from a German Workshop. By Max Müller, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. In two volumes. Vol. I., Essays on the Science of Religion. Vol. II., Essays on Mythology, Traditions, and Customs." New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. 12mo.)

nurse? "There is some truth," he adds, "in this line of argument, but there is likewise great danger of error." In half a dozen essays, on Norse, Highland, and Zulu tales, and on Folk-Lore and Manners and Customs, he discusses the various attempts which have been made to collect and compare such tales, and criticises them with very sound judgment. If in his own field of linguistics Professor Müller is chargeable with far-fetched and strained etymologies, certainly nothing could be more calm and judicious than these judgments of his upon the errors of others. In the main, however, he admits fully the claims of this new branch of his science: "Here, too, the ground-plan of a new science has been sketched out and broken relics of the ancient folk-lore of the Aryan family have been picked up in the cottages of Scotland, the spinning-rooms of Germany, the bazaars of Herat, and the monasteries of Ceylon" (p. 258). Again: "These very stories, these 'Mährchen,' which nurses still tell, with almost the same words, in the Thuringian forests and the Norwegian villages, and to which crowds of children listen under the pippl-trees of India, these stories, too, belonged to the common heir-loom of the Indo-European race, and their origin carries us back to the same distant past, when no Greek had set foot in Europe, no Hindoo had bathed in the sacred waters of the Ganges" (p. 222).

The same key which has unlocked so many of the riddles of mythology is applied, not without success, to the folk-lore; and the Sun, the Dawn, Day and Night, Winter and Spring, are shown to be embodied in many of these tales. An example of these is the familiar story of the Frog-prince (p. 244), which we all remember in Gammer Grethel, and which Prof. Müller unhesitatingly classes as one of the sun-myths; "it can be shown," he says, "that frog was used as a name of the sun; i. e., 'at sunrise and sunset, when the sun seemed squatting on the water.'" Unfortunately, while these words would certainly lead one to suppose that there was direct evidence that the word meaning "frog" was used for the sun, no direct evidence of this is offered; the sentences which follow appear to be only a labored argument to show the probability of such a use, and the argument ends, "must have been at one time used, etc." The result is, that the reader is left in doubt whether the statement is a known fact, or only an inference from probability.

The history of these mythical tales, after the gods of heathendom had been supplanted by Christianity, the power, that is, by which mythical legends became mere fairy stories, is well told on p. 233. "Christianity had destroyed the old gods of the Teutonic tribes, and supplied new heroes in the saints and martyrs of the Church. The gods were dead, and the heroes, the sons of the gods, forgotten. But the stories told of them would not die, and in spite of the excommunications of the priests they were welcomed wherever they appeared in their strange disguises. Kind-hearted grannies would tell the pretty stories of old, if it was only to keep their little folk quiet. They did not tell them of the gods; for those gods were dead, or, worse than that, had been changed into devils. They told them of nobody; aye, sometimes they would tell them of the very saints and martyrs, and the apostles themselves have had to wear some of the old rags that belonged by right to Odin and other heathen gods. The oddest figure of all is that of the devil in his half-Christian and half-heathen garb. The Aryan nations had no devil. Pluto, though of a sombre character, was a very respectable personage; and Loki, though a mischievous person, was not a fiend. The German goddess, Heli, too—like Proserpine—had once seen better days. Thus, when the Germans were indoctrinated with the idea of a real devil, the Semitic Satan or Diabolus, they treated him in the most good-humored manner. They ascribed to him all the mischievous tricks of their most mischievous gods."

We have spoken first of the second volume, because it contains the discussions which are most identified with the name of Max Müller, and possesses at the same time most novelty to the majority of readers. We do not know, however, but that the first volume would, on the whole, be pronounced the most interesting and the most valuable. At any rate, there are many readers who will care nothing for these strange identities of words and fables and objects of worship, but who will turn eagerly to the essays upon the divers forms of religion of the Asiatic peoples. The first volume contains admirable essays upon nearly all the great primitive religions of Asia, with their sacred books—the Vedas, the Zendavesta; Buddhism, the Parses, the books of Confucius, Semitic monotheism—all these titles, of the first interest to the students of religious thought, are treated in the author's eloquent style, and with his unsurpassed erudition. Here, no doubt, we may look for what is latest and best worth knowing upon these subjects.

Besides these there is a short essay upon the "Popol Vuh," or sacred book of the Quiché tribe of Central America, which is shown to be a genuine

record of the times before the Spanish conquest. To be sure, the book in question is not the real "Popol Vuh," but is the composition of a Christian convert of the sixteenth century, who was unwilling to suffer the records of his nation to perish, and who therefore made out this compilation from whatever early material was accessible to him. Even this is of the greatest value, and the genuineness of the work is vouched by the modesty of its claims. But it does not follow because the document is genuine that its records are necessarily true. It repeats the old beliefs and traditions of the people, crude and confused as such recollections must necessarily be. Professor Müller makes some judicious remarks upon this head; after alluding to the old Greek traditions, and remarking that "we know nothing of Greek history before the Olympiads, and very little even then," he continues (p. 327):

"The same applies with a force increased a hundred fold to the ancient history of the aboriginal races of America, and the sooner this is acknowledged, the better for the credit of American scholars. Even the traditions of the migrations of the Chichimecs, Colhuas, and Nahuas, which form the staple of all American antiquarians, are no better than the Greek traditions about Pelesgians, Æolians, and Ionians: and it would be mere waste of time to construct out of such elements a systematic history, only to be destroyed again sooner or later by some Niebuhr, Grote, or Lewis."

#### CURRENT FRENCH LITERATURE

HERE are "L'Interné," by M. Jules Janin, and "Les Dents du Dragon," by Alphonse Karr.—Manhood has its prime, and the enthusiasm and fire of youth can scarcely be expected to extend beyond half a century of years. Jules Janin is sixty-four, Alphonse Karr is ripening into his fifty-first summer. Janin's "Femme Guillotinée" and "L'Ane Mort" first appeared in 1829-30. We would not say, "superfluous lags the veteran," but when we read his "Chemin de Traverse," with 1837 on the title-page, and a gush of young enthusiasm and charming fancy over all its other pages, we cannot help contrasting it with the book before us. And then the Madame Prevost obituary, his description of the flower-seller's shop in the Palais Royal, where he picks up the fleuriste's order-book, and in its items reads the hidden history of the gay Parisian world. Terrible and touching; with such exquisite trains of associations; such feeling, poetry, truth! And yet the book contained only the names of those who gave and those who received a few poor flowers. The loves of Paris kept by double entry! Here, to-day, a simple bouquet of violets is sent and accepted. Then a rose. Each day adds a flower to love's message. Then, alas! soon, each day tears away a flower, until his name and her name are no longer written together; and, as the first sender disappears, you perceive a fresh bouquet of violets appearing with a new name attached to it. Ah! if you but knew the slight duration of these grand passions, "*éternelles comme la rose!*" Janin is not to be judged by his novels, and the one before us is far from being the best of them, although it has some admirable pages. Janin is not a novelist, but he is the greatest of feuilletonists. Wit, fancy, fertility, gayety, critical acumen, and the gentlest of persiflage are all his, but he wants the continuity to write a book. Alphonse Karr has long been remarkable for the eccentricity of the titles of his works, "Journey Around My Garden," "An Hour Too Late," "Black and Blue Roses," "Mid-day to Fourteen o'Clock," and his "King of the Canary Islands," lately announced. He is best known by his Guêpes (Wasps), a series of satirical papers, published at short intervals, from 1839 to 1850. His "Dragon's Teeth" is fragmentary and discursive; *laudator temporis acti*, he talks much in it of his Guêpes and himself.

In "Le Sentiment Religieux en Grèce," by Jules Girard, the religious sentiment of the ancient Greeks, from Homer to Æschylus, is presented in its moral development and in its dramatic expression. M. Girard takes direct issue with Renan, who, in his "Apostles," says of the Greeks, that they never had any high appreciation nor profound sentiment of the destiny of man; that they accepted life as children do; that their infantine serenity was always a self-satisfied one, and this peculiar serenity a national characteristic. To the reader of M. Girard's five hundred and fifty pages, it is a secondary question whether or not he gets the better of Renan in the argument. The attraction of the work lies in the elaborate demonstration of the existence of an elevated tone in Grecian philosophy and dramatic arts. The chapters upon natural religion in Homer, upon anthropomorphism as developed in Homer and Hesiod, on the progress of moral and religious sentiments, the influence of Orphic ideas on human destiny and a future life; the religious ideas of Æschylus, as expressed in his "Prometheus" and "Eumenides," added to the parallels with Sophocles—



and Shakespeare, all present attractive reading and valuable suggestion.

"Éléments d'Histologie Humaine" is a translation from the well-known German work by Kolliker, which, for the past twelve years, has been the only classic treatise on the science of histology used in the French medical schools. Dr. Mark See, its translator, has enriched the work with statements of the many valuable discoveries made since 1856, elucidated several obscure points, and removed the remnants of several ancient errors. The first part of the work is devoted exclusively to the study of the tissues, which are divided by the author into four classes—the cellular, conjunctive, muscular, and nervous. Kolliker declares for the doctrine of Schwann, so brilliantly developed and sustained by Virchow, and greatly enlarges the signification of the term *cella*. He extends its former acceptance of a vesicle closed by a membrane, and recognizes in it the *organite* of Milne-Edwards.

The "Histoire de l'Art Grec avant Périclès" is by M. Beulé. A member of the Institute of France, and Secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts, our author speaks as one having authority. M. Beulé is well known in Europe as a passionate admirer of classic art, and in several published works has given proof of great taste and erudition. The present work fully justifies his reputation. He declares that, starting in the East, the cradle of so many movements in the progress of humanity, art reached Greece by Asia Minor and the Ionian Islands. Barbarous, puerile, and profitless in Assyria, in Egypt, in Phœnicia, art gradually improved in traversing the Archipelago, and attained in the continental Hellenic lands its fullest development. M. Beulé maintains—and here is an interesting feature of his work—that the Greeks, with all their superiority, nevertheless invented nothing. From the East they received all the germs and earliest efforts of art, which they so transformed and perfected that the true originators are lost sight of, and they alone appear as the creators. The patrimony of ancient art was the general inheritance of the community of nations. The Grecians appropriated it, absorbed it, and, in a style and form peculiar to themselves, made it for ever their own. All that preceded them is despised or forgotten. They alone are remembered. Ionian in Attica, Dorian in the Peloponnese; graceful in the first, virile in the second, Grecian art spreads and increases with this double characteristic throughout Greece and its colonies. The monuments of the cities of Sicily and of Campania tell plainly what race founded them. It progresses with constant developments until Phidias, Dorian by birth, Ionian by education, finally fuses the two currents, and produces from their union its complete and ideal perfection. An artist as well as a scholar, as enthusiastic in his admiration of beauty as profound and accurate in his researches, the author reviews with his reader all the works, essays, artists, cities, and ruins, from Samos to Corinth, Corinth to Syracuse, Syracuse to Paestum, showing by turns the progress of architecture and of sculpture, until we find the supreme expression of Grecian art in Phidias and Polygnotus—Polygnotus, the Prometheus of painting, the first who threw animation and fire into representations of the human countenance, who first in his paintings represented the mouth open and the teeth displayed, who first clothed his figures in light garments, and threw transparent draperies about the forms of his women; the author, in short, of both delicacy and expression in painting.

"Gianotti, sa Vie, son Temps et ses Doctrines" is the work of Charles Tassin. Gianotti was a contemporary of Macchiavelli. Like Macchiavelli, he was Secretary of the Florentine Council of Ten; like him, he essayed to give form and expression to the principles of governmental policy. Unlike Macchiavelli, though, he was the advocate of reason and justice against the apologists of force and cunning, and combated his reasons and condemned his principles. M. Tassin shows that even at that epoch the Macchiavellian theories were far from being generally accepted in Italy, and points to Gianotti as the exponent of a school teaching the doctrines of right, as opposed to those of the school of mere interest.

The publication of the "Memoirs of Talleyrand," so long promised, now appears to be so indefinitely postponed that it is altogether possible they may, after all, never see the light. Here is the actual position of the matter: the memoirs in question were bequeathed by Prince Talleyrand to his niece, the Duchess of Sagan, who was forbidden to publish them before the expiration of thirty years after his death. But this restriction was unaccompanied by any obligation to print them. The Duchess of Sagan bequeathed them under the same conditions to the Count de Bacourt (the same who edited the correspondence of Mirabeau and of the Count de la Marek). The Count, in turn, left them to M. Paul Andral and M. Chatelain, and added twenty to the thirty years ordered by Talleyrand. The result of all these dispositions, and of a simple sum in arithmetic, is that the "Talleyrand Memoirs" cannot be published before 1888, and even

then, it will rest with both MM. Andral and Chatelain, or their heirs and executors, to publish or not, at their option. No obligation rests upon them to do so.

The main features of the pontificate of Sixtus the Fifth ("Histoire de Sixte Quint," by M. Dumesnil) are familiar even to general readers of history. He was an extraordinary man, and, during his reign of more than five years, displayed an energetic will as applied to affairs of state and of religion, an unbending severity toward criminals, constant solicitude for the well-being of his subjects, an enlightened fondness for the arts, as is shown by numerous monuments, and a spirit of inflexible determination in raising the Holy See into a state of independence of foreign princes. M. Dumesnil's work is an additional proof, if any were needed, of the fact that the mission of history in the nineteenth century appears to be to *unteach* all preceding modern history. The author shows that the origin of Felix Peretti, Pope Sixtus, was not low, as is related (the story ran that he was originally a swineherd), and that he was allied to the "best families, short of nobility," of his province. His pretended infirmities, the statement that he was elected because supposed to be dying, and the well-known crutch-story, he pronounces to be all fabulous. He shows, moreover, that there is no warrant for these stories in contemporary history, and quotes Tempesti, one of the historians of the conclave which elected Sixtus, to the following effect: "In electing Montalto Pope, still vigorous of years, since he had only reached sixty-four, and enjoyed a robust and vigorous constitution, it was felt certain that he would live long enough to bury Farnese and his partisans, etc."

"L'Immortalité de l'Âme chez les Juifs" was first published in Paris some ten years since. It is a translation by Isidore Cohen from the German of Dr. Brecher, Surgeon of the Israelite Hospital at Prossnitz. It is well known that a general impression prevails to the effect that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was formerly unknown to the Jews; that it is not found in the Prophets, and most certainly not in the Pentateuch. Judaism appeared to remain proudly indifferent to the accusation and to public opinion until Dr. Brecher, who is well known to Hebraists as the commentator and editor of the Cosri, or Khasari, undertook seriously in this little work to prove from Hebrew tradition, from the Scriptures, and from the Talmud, that the Jewish people have always recognized the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. His task is executed with great force of reasoning and a most interesting display of erudition.

We may remark here that the general current of Protestant Christian opinion upon this subject is strongly tinged with the prevailing theory of Warburton, as developed in his "Divine Legation." He argues the subject at great length and with some learning, and concludes that although the more current doctrine has always been that a future state of rewards and punishments was taught by the law of Moses, he has, nevertheless, proved beyond all reasonable question that such a doctrine is not to be found in, nor did it make part of, the Mosaic dispensation.

For this and similar opinions, Dr. Warburton was made excessively uncomfortable by a profusion of compliments from Voltaire, which were so energetically declined by the Bishop of Gloucester as to draw from the Sage of Ferney language in which no trace of eulogy could by possibility be discovered.

"Campagnes et Stations," by Ed. du Hailly, has a title which announces an author by turns soldier and sailor. Precisely in what capacity he travelled he does not say, but from internal evidence we take him to be a naval officer of rank, charged with a diplomatic mission. The book is most interesting from the first to the last of its 462 pages. On his route to Singapore, M. du Hailly gives us glimpses of Madeira, Brazil, Bahia, and the Cape of Good Hope. Then comes Singapore, a city of nearly 100,000 inhabitants, which in 1819 had no existence beyond that of a miserable Indian village. The details concerning Siam and Bangkok are fresh and very full. The author speaks of American Protestant missions founded in Siam thirty-six years ago—Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, etc. "This land will soon be Immanuel's," wrote a missionary in 1839. In 1857, Sir John Bowring doubted seriously if ten native Siamese Protestants could be found. M. du Hailly professes himself unable to comprehend the *persistente confiance* displayed by the Bible societies in the distribution of their publications—"a distribution of which experience has demonstrated the almost total uselessness." Nevertheless, he says, these missions have not been wholly profitless, for they have aided in spreading much useful knowledge, and they publish the only journal in Bangkok. Then he gives us the result of three years' observation among the continents and islands of the great Southern Ocean, and a history full of remarkable details concerning the Coolie trade, or rather, the traffic in Coolies, and closes with two chapters on the French Antilles (Martinique and Guadeloupe), and Six

Months in Newfoundland. A professional book maker would have made at least half a dozen volumes out of his material.

"Le Poème de Lucrèce" is a treatise by C. Martha.—The poem in question is of course the "De Rerum Natura." An extraordinary fact connected with the great work of Lucretius is the slight mention made of it by succeeding Latin authors. Not that it was unknown to them; far from it. With the single exception of Ovid, who speaks of it with enthusiasm, they nearly all refer to it disparagingly, although nearly all of them profited by it. One reason for this silence, doubtless, was the little taste that existed among the Romans for such elevated speculations as the poem indulges in. Another was a feeling that may be called religious; somewhat akin to that which, years ago, prevented people in England from acknowledging familiarity with such a work as Rousseau's "Nouvelle Héloïse." But this neglect of the ancients has been more than compensated by the admiration of the moderns. Lucretius has not only been translated into all the principal modern languages, but has received the tribute of numerous refutations and commentaries. In English alone we have translations of his poem by Creech, Busby, J. S. Watson, and Good, not to mention the brilliant paraphrase of some of its passages by Dryden. The translation of Creech is a double one, being in prose and in verse. So great was his admiration of Lucretius that the story—apocryphal, we think—runs that his suicide was in imitation of his original. In Germany, Eichstädt's version and notes are well and favorably known. In France, Montaigne and Gassendi gave Lucretius great attention. Molière studied and translated his great poem; Villemain wrote an essay upon it, and a Professor (Patin) of the Sorbonne delivered a course of lectures upon it. Then there is Cardinal Polignac's refutation of its philosophical system the "Anti-Lucretius, sive de Deo et Natura," in admirable Latin—an enormous work in nine books, of thirteen hundred lines each, which it was once the fashion to admire; Voltaire speaks of its author as

"Le Cardinal, oracle de la France  
Réunissant Virgile avec Platon,  
Vengeur du ciel et vainqueur de Lucrèce."

Voltaire himself admired him highly, but unfortunately for the reputation of the poem, he resuscitated precisely those elements which best merited forgetfulness, and it is only during this century, thanks to Villemain, Patin, and the author of the work before us, that Lucretius is judged impartially and appreciated fairly. M. Martha's book, of 360 pages, is an able analysis and elegant commentary, not only upon the poem, but also the preceding and contemporary literature of Greece and Rome, their theology, philosophy, science, and social system, together with an admirable appreciation of the doctrines of Epicurus, and of the opposing schools of philosophy; the whole illustrated by an eloquent *résumé* of the Christian doctrines bearing upon these subjects. It is neither a translation nor a commentary, but both—as, from passage to passage, the poem may seem to require the one or the other. Besides the salient beauties of the poem, familiar to many, the admirable picture of the pursuits of man, the progress of art and science, the grand pictures of chaos and the creation, and the description of the plague with which the poem closes, M. Martha has, with tasteful discrimination, developed the beauty of many passages hitherto imperfectly noticed or misunderstood.

*The Military and Civil History of Connecticut during the War of 1861-65*, comprising a detailed account of the various Regiments and Batteries, through March, Encampment, Bivouac, and Battle, &c. By W. A. Croffut and John M. Morris. (New York: Ledyard Bill. 1869.)—The books that record the part which the several States of the North took in the war of the Rebellion are getting to be so large that a lifting tackle or boom-derrick will soon be needed to move them from the shelf to the desk; and as for their weight it may be conveniently stated by adopting the phrase of the old story of the stout man, and saying that so many go to the ton. The volume now presented to the public is a large octavo of eight hundred and ninety-one pages. It is a very creditable piece of work, showing an infinite amount of patient labor, and composed with modesty, candor, and good sense. It gives an excellent account of the commencement of the war, and calls up a vivid remembrance of the enthusiastic spirit of those days, with their flag-raising, money-giving, sword-presenting, and enlisting of soldiers. It contains an abundance of good little biographical sketches of true representatives of Connecticut, and follows closely and apparently with accuracy the fortunes of all the military organizations which she sent to the field. The plan of the author is "to group events that are synchronous, and carry forward the whole with something of the consecutive method

of history." They have adhered to this plan with fidelity, but have confined themselves so closely to recording the services of the soldiers of their State, as hardly even to mention the haps of regiments from other States serving not only in the same division but even in the same brigade with Connecticut troops. Thus their accounts of battles read oddly, when they are defective only by reason of the omissions incident to the plan of the work, but it is to be added that they have other and more serious defects. They are sometimes confused, and sometimes all wrong, but as the authors modestly disclaim any intention of offering "elaborate descriptions of battles," and seem to have honestly tried to tell the truth, and have succeeded in telling the tale of the contingent of Connecticut with great minuteness, and without undue laudation of their heroes, or distasteful disparagement of the troops of other States in comparison with them, there is no occasion for submitting this feature of their work to searching criticism. They have used manuscript reports of battles with some freedom, but it is to be wished that they had quoted from them much more largely. Such material is of very high value, and, if the writer be of a certain calibre, is of the highest, and it will be every day more difficult to procure. The value of books of the class to which this belongs, is of course primarily local, but they contain stores of information from which the future historian must draw. To him the contemporaneous records of interesting events made by the actors in them, of whatever grade, will be as precious as "apples of gold in pictures of silver." Narratives digested from materials becoming day by day less accessible, not to say non-existent, will be worth much less, and therefore it is earnestly to be hoped that future compilers of similar books will enrich them profusely with extracts from official reports, diaries, scrap-books, "private letters," as Messrs. Croffut & Morris say they have gathered facts from, and with memoranda of the statements made to them at "personal interviews."

*The Wonders of Optics*. By F. Marion. Translated from the French and edited by Charles W. Quin. (New York: Charles Scribner & Co.)—A series of books called the "Bibliothèque des Merveilles" has recently appeared in Paris, and has proved sufficiently popular to encourage the publication of an American edition. The work before us is the first number of this series. It is principally devoted to explaining the extraordinary effects obtainable by the use of lenses and mirrors. Descriptions are given of the eye, and of the defects and errors to which it is liable, such as color-blindness and ocular spectra. An account is also given of some curious workings of the imagination, during which images are seen with such distinctness that the patient is unable to distinguish them from real objects. Among the descriptions of optical instruments, a chapter is devoted to the spectroscope, of which, strangely enough, there is scarcely any notice in the French edition. Although not quite accurate in all respects, yet this chapter contains a good summary of spectrum analysis, particularly in its application to astronomy. In describing the telescope an error occurs which requires correction. The Cambridge telescope is said to be larger than that at Pulkova. In reality, they are both of the same size; and their diameter is fifteen inches, instead of eighteen or nineteen. The largest achromatic lens which has yet been mounted is not Mr. Buckingham's, but the Craig telescope, twenty-four inches in diameter and over seventy feet in focal length.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the book is Part III., which is mainly devoted to showing how much of the magic of the ancients may be reduced to an ingenious use of concave mirrors and other optical instruments. A good description is also given of the method of producing the "ghosts" which were exhibited a few years ago at many of our theatres. The interest of the work is much increased by the large number of illustrations, a portion of which are very well executed.

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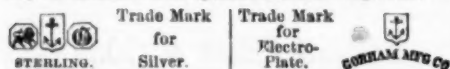
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